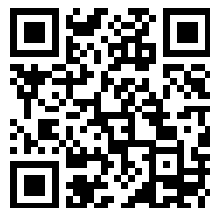
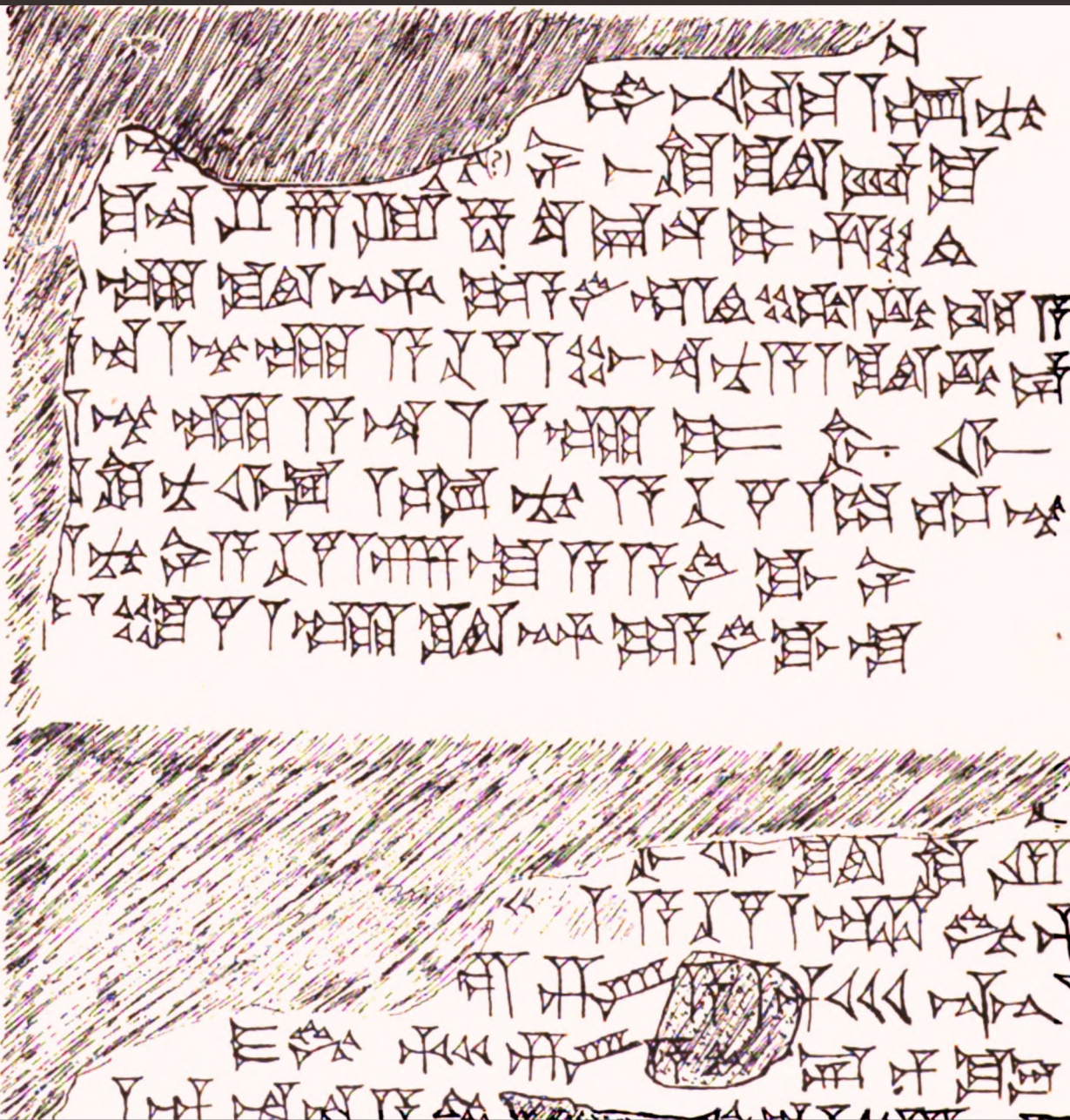

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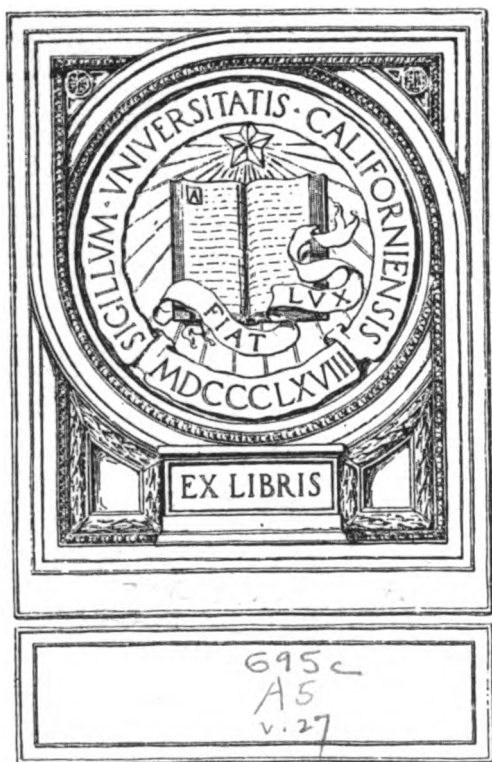
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The American journal of Semitic languages and literatures

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THE
AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

FOUNDED BY WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

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VOLUME XXVII

OCTOBER, 1910—JULY, 1911

The University of Chicago Press

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AGENTS:

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, LONDON AND EDINBURGH

TH. STAUFFER, LEIPZIG

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA, TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO

Published
October, 1910, January, April, July, 1911

TO THE
MIND
AND
HEART

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
(CONTINUING HEBRAICA)

VOLUME XXVII

OCTOBER, 1910

NUMBER 1

THE BOOK OF MICAH

BY PAUL HAUPT
Johns Hopkins University

MICAH^a

I

Denunciation of Unjust Rulers and False Prophets

(about 702 B.C.)

A i 3, 9 ^aO ye who detest what is right,¹
 perverting all that is straight!²
10 Who build up Zion with blood,³
 Jerusalem with crime;⁴

ii 2 ^bWho strip the skin from the poor,⁵
 their flesh from off their bones,⁶

(a) 1, 1 The word of JHVH, which came to Micah of Mareshah¹⁵ in the days of King ^{vv} Hezekiah¹⁶ of Judah¹⁷

(b) 3, 9 Hear,¹⁸ O chiefs of ^{ww} Jacob,¹⁷ rulers of Israel's¹⁸ race!¹⁹

(γ) 11 Her chiefs give judgment for bribes, her priests instruct²⁰ for hire,
Her prophets divine for money,²¹ (pretending to) lean on JHVH:²²
^{pp} Is not JHVH among us? no evil can come upon us!²³

(δ) 1^{σσ} Hear, O chiefs of Jacob,¹⁷ rulers of Israel's¹⁸ race!¹⁹
Should ye not heed ^{ττ} what is right?¹
2 Haters of good² and lovers of evil!²

(e) 3 Who eat the flesh of my people: and flay their skin from them.⁶

(vv) 1, 1 Jotham, Ahaz²⁷ (ξξ) which he saw²⁸ concerning Sam-aria²⁷ and Jerusalem
(oo) 3, 9 this (ww) the race of (pp) 11 saying²⁹ (σσ) I said (ττ) that

3, 3 And chop their bones to pieces,⁵
as though it were meat for⁵ the pot.⁵

B iii 5 "Ye who lead my people astray;⁷
have they⁷ aught to bite, they cry: Good!⁸
But if one put nought in their mouth,⁹
they open war against him:¹⁰

iv 6 Night will be for you,¹¹ beyond vision,¹²
and darkness,¹¹ beyond¹² divination;⁹
7 The seers¹³ will be shamed and⁴ abashed,
they will all cover up¹⁴ their mustache.^{κ λ μ}

-
- (§) 3, 3 and cleave them like flesh for⁵ the kettle
(η) 5 Thus says JHVH concerning the prophets⁷
(θ) 6 The sun will go down¹¹ o'er the prophets,¹³ the day will be dark¹¹ over them.¹³
(ι) 7 the diviners¹³ (κ) for there is no answer from God
(λ) 8 But I am full of power,^{vv} I have the skill²⁴ and strength²⁵
To declare his sin to Jacob,¹⁷ to Israel¹⁸ her transgression.
(μ) 4 Then they¹³ will cry to JHVH, but He will not respond;
He'll hide His face³⁶ from them,^{φφ} for they¹³ did wicked deeds.

- (vv) 8 the spirit of JHVH (φφ) 4 at that time

II

Judah's Downfall owing to the Oppression of the Lower Classes
(about 701 B.C.)

A i 2, 1 Woe to them that plan mischief^a
upon their beds.
In broad ^βlight they do it,
for it is in their power.

ii 2 For fields they lust,¹
^δat homes {} they snatch,{^γ}
Oppressing yeomen, [^ε]
^εtheir homes [] and heritage.

-
- (a) 2, 1 and do evil (β) day (γ) 2 they take (them) away (δ) and (ε) men (ζ) and

- B iii 2, 8 Against my people²
 ye rise as⁷ foes;³
 From peaceful men
 ye strip their mantles.⁴ ⁵
- iv 9 Our⁵ wives ye chase
 from blissful homes,⁶
 From tender children
 ye take our⁵ mothers.⁷ ⁸
- C v 3 ¹Against the² clan³
 He'll⁴ plan some⁵ thing (†)
 ⁶Wherefrom they will
 not slip[⁷] their necks.⁸ ⁹
- vi 4 'They'll utter verses¹⁰
 and ¹¹lamentations:¹²
 ¹³"We be utterly spoiled, { } []
 ¹⁴they divide our lands!"¹⁵ { } ¹⁶

(7) 2, 8 for (θ) from those who pass by securely, as spoils of war
(ι) 9 my people's¹³ (κ) for ever (λ) 3 therefore thus says JHVH (μ) this
(ν) 3 evil (ξ) 5 a snare (ο) 3 which (π) 4 how can one slip away?
(ρ) 3 ye will not escape,¹⁴ for it is a bad time!¹⁵
(σ) 10^b on account of your impurity¹⁶ ye will be ensnared in a sore snare¹⁷
(τ) 4 at that time (υ) against you (φ) laments¹⁸ (χ) and they will say¹⁹
(ψ) for our captors²⁰ (ω) they measure the lot of my people²¹
aa) 5 verily thus thou wilt have no one to cast ^{ββ}the lot () in the congrega-
tion of JHVH²²
6 γγthey ought not to talk²³ such things, {the race of Jacob} will not meet
with disgrace²³
7· Am I to think { } that JHVH is impatient with them for their deeds?
Are not His words kind with him who is upright and follows Him?²⁴

11 If a man should come with windy²⁵ lies:²⁶
"I'll talk to thee both wine and mead,"²⁶
He would be the talker for such a people.²⁷

(ss) 5 with (yy) 6 you must not talk 28 (dd) talken 29 (cc) 11 and falsehoods

III

Lamentation¹ over the Assyrian Invasion

(701 B.C.)

A i 1, 8 Therefor² I'll wail and howl,
 "unclad^β and barefoot;³
 I'll make a wail^γ like jackals
 and^δ daughters-of-deserts.⁴

ii 10 'For thy daughters^δ 'bitterly weep
 and hide^ε in the dust!⁷
 16 For thy charming daughters^δ poll^δ
 'thy head⁷ like a griffin!⁶ *^Λ

iii 9 "Their^δ deadly⁹ wounds^ν (extend)
 ^ξto the gates of my¹⁰ people;⁹ *^π

-
- (α) 1, 8 I will go (β) 11 in nakedness^{αα}
 (γ) 11 the wail over the daughters of the neighborhood^δ (δ) 8 mourning like
 (ε) 10 tell it not in Gath³⁶ (ς) do not (η) dust (θ) 16 clip
 (ι) 16 make (a) large (bald spot on) (κ) for they will be deported from thee
- (λ) 4, 14 Now lacerate thy flesh;³⁷ he³⁸ has laid siege against us;³⁹
 On the cheek they'll smite at the trial³⁰ the regent³¹ of Judah³³ (μ) 1, 9 for
- (ν) 1, 12^{αβ} It was good that she suffered,³³ who dwells on high!³⁴
- 4, 9 ³⁵Now why doest thou³⁶ cry out aloud?
 Hast thou no king?³⁷ is thy counselor gone?³⁸
 That pangs have seized thee like a woman in travail?³⁵
- 10 Suffer pangs and labor,³⁶ O maiden Zion!³⁷
 Now must thou³⁸ forth³⁵ and dwell in the field,⁴⁰
 Must go to Babel: there thou'lt be rescued.⁴¹
- 11 Now⁴¹ also many nations are gathered against thee,⁴² that say: Let her be
 12 defiled,⁴³ that our eyes may feast on Zion! But they know not JHVH's plans,
 nor understand they His design: He has brought them together like a sheaf
 to the threshing-floor:⁴⁴
- 13 Arise and thresh,⁴⁵ maid Zion! } } thou'lt beat down⁴⁶ many peoples.
 [I'll give thee hoofs of brass,]⁴⁶ } I'll give thee horns of iron.⁴⁶
 Devote their spoils⁴⁷ to JHVH, their wealth⁴⁷ to the Lord of all earth!⁴⁸
- (ξ) 1, 9 ^{ζζ}reach (ο) to Jerusalem
 (π) 12^b for evil came down from JHVH⁴⁹ to the gate of Jerusalem⁷⁷
-

- (αα) 11 shame (ββ) 12^a for (γγ) 4, 10 like a woman in travail (δδ) from the city
 (εε) 4, 10 There He (JHVH) will redeem thee from the hands of thy foes.
 (ςς) 1, 9 for it is come to Judah (ηη) 11 the guarded place was placed under guard⁵⁵

2,13 The batterer¹¹ came up before them,^{5 p}
 "their¹² king¹³ " at their¹² head.

B iv 1,11 Pass ye away¹⁶ "from Saphir;¹⁵
 this¹⁶ post will be¹⁷ taken!^x
 13^a Pack off with bag and baggage,¹⁸
 ye dwellers of Lachish!¹⁹ "

v 14 So give now²⁰ parting gifts²¹
 to Gath,²² the bride;²¹
 Nevermore will Achzib²³ accede
 to Judah's wooing.²⁴

vi 15 "A new lord will be marshaled
 into Mareshah's borough.²⁵
 For ever and ay will perish
 the glory of Judah.

(p) 2, 13 they¹² have battered and passed the gate, and entered⁵⁰ by it
 (σ) and there passed (τ) before them (υ) and JHVH (φ) 1, 11 inhabitants
 (x) 1, 11 from you (ψ) 2, 10^a Arise, depart! this is not a safe place⁵¹ (ω) 1, 15 again

IV

Destruction of Jerusalem¹

(about 701 B.C.)

* * * * *

3,12 "As² a field will Zion³ be plowed,
 Jerusalem will become heaps,⁴
 And the Temple mount wooded heights,⁵
 * * * * *

* * * * *

(α) 3,12 therefore, for your sake

Maccabean Appendix¹

(170-100 B.C.)

V

*The Sufferings of Judah and Jerusalem due to their Idolatry
and General Corruption*

(about 168 B.C.)

- A i 6, 2 "Hear ye My^a strife,² O mountains,³
foundations of the land,⁴ give ear!⁵
For a strife⁶ have I⁷ with My people,⁸
I complain⁷ of Israel.⁸
- ii 3 My people,⁹ what have I done thee?⁹
wherewith have I troubled thee?¹⁰ Answer Me!¹¹
4^a I brought thee up from Egypt,
I rescued thee from bondage.¹²⁸
- iii 16 Thou didst keep the statutes of Omri,¹³
all the acts of the House of Ahab.¹⁴
Thou didst adopt their counsels,¹⁵
'incurring disgrace from the peoples.¹⁶
- B iv 9 My^c voice calls out to the city:¹⁷ []
Hear ye, O 'city assembly!
12 ^dWhose rich are full of outrage,¹⁸
'and false is the tongue in their mouth.

(a) 6, 1 Hear ye what JHVH says!²⁸
Up! Strive Thou with²⁹ the mountains! that the hills may hear Thy voice.³⁰

(β) 2 JHVH's (γ) JHVH

(δ) 4^b. 5 I sent before thee³⁰ Moses, Aaron,³¹ and Miriam.³² O My people,⁸ remember what King Balak of Moab planned,³³ and what Balaam ben-Beor answered him.³³ Remember how your fathers were marvelously helped³⁴ from Shittim to Gilgal,³⁵ that ye may know JHVH's victories.³⁶

(e) 16 that I should make thee¹⁷ a desolation, and the inhabitants thereof an object of horror and pity³⁷ (ς) 9 JHVH's (η) tribe³⁸

(θ) 12 of which (ι) her inhabitants spoke lies

- v 6,10 Can I overlook¹⁹ "wicked hoards,²⁰
the accursed²¹ overscant²² ephah?²³
- 11 Can I condone wicked scales²⁴
and bags with deceitful weights?
- vi 13 ^I'll smite thee¹⁷ and make thee sore,²⁵
wasting thee for thy transgressions.²⁶
- 14b} } If there be aught good in thee,
it shall be removed,²⁷ thou'lt lose it!²⁸ [v]£

-
- (κ) 6,10 in the house of the wicked (λ) 13 also
(μ) 14 whom thou savest I shall deliver to the sword
(ν) 9 but Thou wilt save those who fear Thy Name²⁹
- (£) 15{³⁰Thou wilt eat and not be sated,{⁴⁰
 ³¹thou wilt sow, but thou wilt not reap;
 ³²Thou wilt tread,⁴¹ ³³but thou wilt not anoint;⁴² ³⁴ττ
 thou wilt press,⁴³ but thou wilt not drink.³⁵
-
- (30) 14 thou (31) 15 thou (32) thou (33) olives (34) with oil (35) wine

VI

Faith despite Persecution

(about 162 B.C.)

- A i 7, 1 Woe is me!¹ " } } Like summer-fruit² gatherers,
like gleaners³ at the vintage {am I}.⁴
There is no grape to eat,⁵
no early fig⁶ I' long for.⁷
- ii 2 The good are gone from the land,⁸
there is no upright man:
All lie in wait for blood,⁹
every man is hunting his brother.¹⁰ β γ

-
- (α) 7, 1 for (β) 2 with a net³⁰
(γ) 5 Believe not a friend, trust not a comrade!⁴⁰
From her at thy bosom⁴¹ guard the gates of thy mouth!⁴²
- 6 Sons disgrace their fathers, daughters rise against mothers,
Brides against their mothers-in-law, a man's own household⁴³ is hostile.

iii 7,3 ^δThe governor¹¹ [•] (ζ) asks [] for pay,¹² ()
he decrees just as he chooses.¹³ { }

4^a They¹⁴ catch the good¹⁵ like thorns,
{they¹⁴ tangle} the just¹⁶ like a hedge.

B iv 7 ^ηBut I¹ will look to JHVH,¹⁷
I'll wait for God to help me.^δ

8 Rejoice not, O mine enemies;¹⁸
'He's my light, though I walk in gloom.¹⁹

v 9 I'll bear the wrath²⁰ of JHVH^κ
until He rights my wrong.^{21 λ}
He'll lead me⁴ forth into light,²²
I shall behold His triumph.²³

vi 10 "Disgraced²⁴ will be they¹⁸ who said:"
Where is JHVH, thy God?²⁵
I'll feast mine eyes on them,²⁶
they'll now be trodden down.^ε

C vii 11 The day to build thy²⁷ walls,²⁸
that day, the date is near;
12 That day when they'll come²⁹ to thee²⁷
from Assyria down to Egypt.

viii From Egypt up to The River,³⁰
from sea to sea,³¹ from mountain to mountain,³²
The peoples³³ will bring their gifts,
and come into thy³⁷ courts.³⁴

(δ) 7, 3 their hands are good to do evil⁴⁴ (ε) the regent (ζ) the magnate
(η) 4^b the day thou lookest for³⁰ is come, now they¹⁸ will be perplexed⁴⁵
(θ) 7 my God will hear me (ι) 8 though I fell, I rose again
(κ) 9 for I have sinned against Him (λ) and does justice to me
(μ) 10 my enemies will see (ν) to me (ξ) like mud in the streets⁴⁶

(30) 4 thou longest for

- ix 7,12 *For lo, thy foes¹⁸ will perish,
all evil-doers¹⁸ will scatter.³⁵*
13 *Then the land³⁶ will be appalled³⁷
at the deeds of its (former) dwellers.³⁸*

VII

God will pardon His Flock and subdue the Heathen

(about 160 B.C.)

- A i 7,14 *With Thy (pastoral) staff¹ tend Thy people,
the flock of Thy heritage,²
Dwelling alone in the Bush³
in the midst of the Garden.⁴*
- ii *May they feed in Bashan and Gilead,⁴
as in days of old!⁵*
15 *As in the days we departed from "Egypt
let us see wondrous things!⁶*
- B iii 16 *The nations⁷ will see, and then
⁸their power will fail them;⁸
They'll lay their hand on their mouth,
their ears will be deafened.⁹*
- iv 17 *They'll lick the dust like a serpent,
like worms of the ground.¹⁰
From their strongholds they will stir {}
and shudder⁷ before Thee.¹¹*
- C v 18 *{O Thou, JHVH, our God,}
who is a god like Thee?¹²
Forgiving and pardoning sins
of the Remnant of His heritage.¹³*

(a) 7,15 the land of

(β) 16 all

(γ) 17 and fear

vi 7,19 He retains not His wrath for ever,¹⁴
 He delights in kindness;
 [He will wash off¹⁵ our guilt]⁸
 and again have mercy. []¹⁶

vii 20 Thou wilt keep troth to Jacob,¹⁷
 kindness to Abraham,¹⁸
 Which Thou swore¹⁹ to our fathers¹⁹
 from the days of yore.

(8) 19 Thou wilt cast into the depths of the sea all their transgressions.²⁰

VIII

Restoration of Judah and Zion¹

(about 135 B.C.)

A i 4, 6 "I'll gather² the stragglers and strays,³
 bring in ⁴those whom I afflicted;⁴
 7 I'll make the stragglers a Remnant,⁵
 the exhausted a powerful nation.⁶
 JHVH will reign over them
 on Mount Zion⁷ 'for ever and ay.⁸

(a) 4, 6	at that time, says JHVH ³³	(β) and	(γ) 7 from now on and
(b) 2, 12	I'll gather all ³⁴	of thee, O Jacob; ⁸	
	I will bring in	Israel's Remnant; ⁸	
	I'll put them together	like sheep ³⁵ in a fold. ^{a, b}	
4, 8	O Tower of the Flock, ³⁶	Court ³⁷ of Zion, the Maiden, ³⁸	
	To thee { ^c } will arrive ^d	the former dominion ^e { ³⁹	
5, 1	And thou, O House ^f of Ephrath, ⁴⁰	so young ^g 'mong Judah's clans, ⁴¹	
	From thee is come ⁴² to us ⁴³	the ruler-to-be ⁴⁴ o'er Israel. ^{h, i}	
3	He'll ^j reign through JHVH's power, ⁴⁵ k ¹	exalted to the bounds of his land. ^{46 m}	

(a) 2, 12	like a flock in the midst of their pasture	(b) thou wilt make her hum with men ⁴⁸
(c) 4, 8	to the maiden Jerusalem	(d) come
		(e) kingdom
(f) 5, 1	(Beth-)lehem ⁵⁹ (g) to be	(h) his extraction is of old (days of yore) ⁶⁰
(i) 2	verily thus they will be sold ⁶¹ until the time when she who travails has trav- ailed, ⁶² when the remnant of his brethren ⁶³ will return to the Sons of Israel ⁶⁴	
(j) 3	stand and	(k) through the glory of the name of his God, JHVH
(l) 4	and they will return, for now he will be	
(m) 4a	and this one will bring prosperity ⁶⁵	

ii 5, 6 And the Remnant of Jacob⁸ will be
in the midst of numerous peoples⁹
Like the dew sent down from JHVH,¹⁰
like a shower coming down on the grass,
Which does not wait for man,
nor tarry for 'humankind.¹⁰

iii 7 And the Remnant of Jacob⁸ will be
'in the midst of numerous peoples⁹
Like a lion 'mong the beasts of the Bush,¹¹
like a lionel 'mong the sheepfolds,¹²
Which, if he bursts in,¹³ strikes down¹⁴
and ravens,¹⁵ and none can rescue.¹⁶

iv 9 'I'll cut off thy¹⁶ horses¹⁷ within thee,¹⁶
I'll wreck thy chariots¹⁸ of war.¹⁸
11 I'll cut off from thee¹⁸ thy witchcraft,¹⁹
thou'lt have no more diviners.²⁰¹⁸
14 I'll execute vengeance²¹ in wrath¹⁸
on the nations⁹ which did not heed me.²

B v 4, 1 ²²In after-times²³ it will happen
that the mountain of JHVH's Temple
Will be placed at the head of the mountains,²⁴
exalted above the hills.
The peoples⁹ will stream to it,
and many nations⁹ will go there:²⁵

(e)	5, 6	the sons of	(ζ) 7 among the nations
(η)	8	If thy hand be raised 'gainst thy foes, thy enemies will all be cut off.	
(θ)	4 ^b	When Assur ⁴⁷ invades our land, and ² treads upon our soil, { ^o }	
		We raise against her ⁴⁷ seven ^p or eight leaders of men ⁴⁸	
	5	With the sword they'll shatter ^q Assur; ⁴⁷ with the falchion, Nimrod's land. ⁴⁹ { ^r }	
(ι)	9	it will come to pass at that time, says JHVH ⁵³	
(κ)	10	I'll cut off the towns ⁵⁰ of thy ¹⁶ land, I'll tear down all thy ¹⁶ strongholds. ⁵¹	
(λ)	13	I will cut off thy ¹⁶ images ⁵² and thy ¹⁶ stone-pillars ⁵³ within thee; ¹⁶ thou ¹⁸ shalt no more worship the work of thy hands. ⁵⁴ I shall destroy thy Asherahs ⁵⁵ within thee; ¹⁶ I shall overthrow thy towns ⁵⁰ (μ) 14 in anger	

(n)	4 ^b	when	(o) When Assur ⁴⁷ invades our land	and treads upon our border. ⁵⁶
(p)		rulers	(q) the land of	(r) and they will be delivered ⁵⁷

- vi 4, 2 "Let us up to JHVH's mountain,
to the Temple of Jacob's⁴ God,
That He teach us some²⁸ of His ways,
and that we may follow His paths;
For from Zion goes forth the Law,
His⁴ word from Jerusalem."²⁷
- vii 3 He'll punish numerous peoples²⁸
and castigate²⁹ powerful nations,^o
So that they will beat their swords {}
and their spears {}into (peaceful) hoes}.³⁰ *
Nation will not lift sword against nation,
neither will they learn war any more.
- viii 4 They'll sit every man 'neath his vine
and his fig-tree,³¹ undisturbed.^o
5 Though³² all the peoples walk,
every one with³² the name of its god,
Yet we shall walk with³² the name of
our God for ever and ay.

(v) 4, 2 and they will say: Come! and²⁸ (4) JHVH's (o) 3 afar off²⁷
(*) 3 pruning-hooks (p) 4 for the mouth of JHVH Sabaoth has spoken (σ) 5 JHVH

IX

John Hyrcanus' Destruction of Samaria

(about 107 B.C.)

- i 1, 2 Hear ye, all ye peoples!
hearken, O land,¹ and its dwellers!^{2a}
3 Lo, He^β came³ out of His place,⁴
and strode o'er the heights of the land.⁵

(α) 1, 2 Let Him^{αβ} be witness against you,^{1b} the Lord from His holy Temple.
(β) 3 JHVH (γ) and He came down

(αβ) 2 (the Lord) JHVH

- ii 1, 4 'Neath Him the mountains melted,⁶
 while vales were cleft (and fissured)⁶
 Like wax before the fire,⁷
 like a waterfall⁸ over a slope.⁶
- iii 6 'I made⁹ Samaria a heap,⁶
 pouring down⁹ her stones¹⁰ to the valley.⁶
 7 All her images¹¹ shall be shattered,
 and all her gifts¹² be burned.⁷

(8) 1, 5 For Jacob's¹⁴ sin¹⁵ is all this,¹⁶ for the transgressions¹⁶ of Israel's¹⁴ Sons¹⁴
 (9) 6 a¹⁷ field¹⁸ (5) and laying bare her foundations (7) with fire¹⁹

((4) 5 What is "Jacob's sin?" is it not Samaria?¹⁸
 And what is "Judah's heights?" is it not Jerusalem?¹⁹

13b The chief transgressor is Zion, the maiden;²⁰
 In thee were found Israel's sins.²¹ ((κ) 6 plantations for vines²²

((λλ) 7 and all her idols I shall lay desolate; for she²³ gathered them from harlot
 hire,²⁴ and harlot hire they shall become again!²⁵

X

*What does God require of Man?*¹

(about 100 B.C.)

- i 6, 6 Wherewith shall I come before JHVH,
 bow down before God of the Height?²
 Shall I come before Him with offerings
 to be burned,³ with calves of a year old?⁴
- ii 7 Is He⁵ pleased with thousands of rams,⁶
 with myriads of rivers of oil?⁵
 Shall I give for my sin⁶ my firstborn,⁷
 for my soul's offense⁸ my offspring?⁹
- iii 8 Thou hast been told,¹⁰ O man, what is good,
 and what JHVH requires of thee:
 ¹¹To do what is right, and (show) love,¹¹ ⁷
 and humbly walk with God.¹²

(α) 6, 7 JHVH

(β) 8 merely

(γ) kindness¹³

NOTES ON MICAH

Micah¹ was a Judean poet who composed some patriotic poems about the time of Sennacherib's invasion of southern Palestine (B.C. 701).² He was a native of Mareshah, the capital³ of the Shephelah, *i.e.* the region of the foothills between the mountains of Judah and the Mediterranean.

Mareshah, afterwards known as Eleutheropolis, was situated on the road from Gaza to Hebron, four hours from Hebron, and about nine hours from Jerusalem. It is the present Tell Sandahanna, *i.e.* the southeastern hill of the three hills between which the modern village of Bêt Jibrîn (*i.e.* House of Gabriel) is situated (NE of Gaza, SW of Jerusalem). According to 2 Chr. 11, 8 Mareshah was fortified by Solomon's son and successor Rehoboam (about B.C. 930).

Micah may have been in Mareshah when Sennacherib threatened his native town, and he may have fled before the Assyrian invaders to Jerusalem. If he witnessed the wonderful preservation of Jerusalem⁴ and composed a poetic glorification of this memorable event (which established the religion of the prophets,⁵ just as the crossing of the Red Sea⁶ laid the foundation of the Mosaic Law) his pæan has not come down to us. Micah seems to have written a poem on the impending destruction of Jerusalem at the hands of Sennacherib, but of this unfulfilled prophecy nothing is preserved save a fragment of 1½ lines quoted in the remarkable passage Jer. 26, 18 (B.C. 607). These lines, which probably saved Jeremiah's life,⁷ were afterwards appended by an editor to the first three chapters containing the genuine poems of Micah.

In the traditional text of the so-called Book of Micah this pessimistic prediction concerning Jerusalem and the Temple (IV)⁸ has been softened

¹The name *Micah* is a contraction of *Micaiah* = *Micaihu* (syncopated *Micaihu*) *i.e.* *Who is like Jah(u)?* Cf. Michael, *Who is like God?* For *Jahu* (= יהוה) cf. GJV 3, 25, 28. In Jer. 26, 18 (cf. n. 1 on IV) the Hebrew text has the form *Micaiah*. The Greek Bible uses the form *Μεχαιας*, the Latin Bible has *Michæas*.

²Cf. n. 2 on III. For Sennacherib's second invasion of southern Palestine from the north (Is. 10, 23-32) see n. 59 to my paper *Micah's Capucinade* in JBL 29.

³The name *Mareshah* means *capital*; see n. 15 on I.

⁴There may be some confusions, inaccuracies, and exaggerations in the Biblical accounts of this miraculous deliverance, and the Angel of the Lord, who smote 185,000 Assyrians, may symbolize a deadly plague; but the fact remains that Jerusalem was sorely threatened and marvelously saved. See the translation of *Isaiah*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 50. The poem in Is. 37, 22-29 (*ibid.* p. 51; cf. the metrical restoration of the text in *Kings* 278) is not an Isaianic Song of Derision upon Sennacherib, but a Maccabean poem deriding Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. n. 18 on VIII).

⁵See my paper on the religion of the Hebrew prophets, cited in n. 28 on I; cf. n. 33 on III.

⁶See my paper on the origin of Judaism, cited at the end of n. 18 on I; cf. ZDMG 63, 529.

⁷Cf. B. Duhm, *Die Zwölf Propheten* (Tübingen, 1910) p. xxvii.

⁸These numbers (I-X) refer to the ten poems in the preceding translation. The smaller Roman numbers (i-ix) refer to the stanzas (couplets or, in VIII, triplets). Greek letters

by the insertion of the second stanza of a most optimistic Maccabean poem (VIII)⁸ which glorifies the restoration of Zion and Judah under the reign of Simon (142-135 B.C.) just as the pessimistic statements in the Book of Ecclesiastes have been made less offensive by affixed orthodox glosses (*Eccl.* 4).⁹

The last four chapters of the Book of Micah represent a Maccabean appendix. They contain five poems (V-VIII and X)¹⁰ composed during the Maccabean period (B.C. 170-100).¹¹ A sixth Maccabean poem (IX) which glorifies John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria, B.C. 107, has been prefixed to the Book; in fact, the first part (cc. 1-3) seems to be a Maccabean oratorio¹² for the celebration of this event, just as the Book of Nahum (which contains two poems of an Israelitish poet who witnessed the fall of Nineveh in B.C. 606) is a festal liturgy for the celebration of Nicanor's Day commemorating Judas Maccabæus' victory over the Syrian general Nicanor on the 13th of Adar,¹³ 161 B.C.¹⁴ John Hyrcanus'

(a→) indicate secondary glosses. Double letters (aa→) refer to tertiary glosses; II, aa, however, is a secondary gloss, at least the first line; the following glosses in II, aa may be tertiary and quaternary, or even post-quaternary (n. 23 on II). In VIII the tertiary glosses are marked a-r. The index to chapters and verses of the received text with corresponding sections, stanzas, and glosses in the preceding translation is appended to the Critical Notes on Micah in vol. 26 of this JOURNAL, p. 242.—The following misprints should be corrected in the Critical Notes: For פִּנְיָ (p. 223, l. 1) read פִּנְיָ.—For מִיָּדָה, not מִיָּדָה! (p. 226, n. †) read מִיָּדָה, not מִיָּדָה!—For Mic. (p. 230, n. †) read Joel.—For *σοιμαρεῖ* (p. 235 below) read *σοιμαρεῖ*.—Since the publication of the Critical Notes (July, 1910) I have slightly modified my views in a few details: For *ha-holekh itto* (p. 211, below) cf. footnote to n. 12 on X.—For *eth-péné hā-hārtm* (p. 222, a) cf. footnote to n. 28 on V.—For *iti-še-kin-kud* (p. 224, n. *) cf. the second footnote to n. 3 on VI.—For the suffix in *šāškhā, &c* (p. 233, l. 1) cf. n. 16 on VIII.—For the jussive *tarōm* (p. 230, η) in the protasis of a conditional clause see GK § 159, d; cf. my translation of Ps. 91, 13 on p. 276 of my paper cited in n. 41 on III; *Nah.* 33, l. 8; also pp. 11, 34 of Dr. Hans Bauer's dissertation *Die Tempora im Semitischen* (Berlin, 1910)= BA 8, part 1.—For the gloss *afar off* (p. 237, e) cf. n. 57 on VIII.

⁹ For the abbreviations see vol. 26 of this JOURNAL, p. 204. Note especially D=Duhm (see AJSL 26, 202, n. 5).—G=Guthrie (in HSAT).—RT=Received Text.—TLZ=*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, edited by Harnack and Schürer.—Rev.=Revelation (Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου).—Sir.=Ecclesiasticus.—CT=*Cuneiform Texts* (cited in n. 37 on VIII).

¹⁰ The first of these poems (V) may have been attributed to Micah because the denunciations of the rich in couplets iv and v resemble Micah's arraignment of the unjust rulers in I, i. ii and II, i-iv; moreover, couplet iii denounces Ahab, and Micaiah ben-Imlah was a prophet of JHVH, who prophesied evil concerning Ahab; cf. 1 K 22, 8. In v. 28 of that chapter the first hemistich of IX is attributed to Micaiah ben-Imlah; but this quotation was added by a glossator, who confounded Micah ben-Imlah (about 850 B.C.) with Micah of Mareshah (about 700). Similarly the Book of Jonah, which is a Sadducean apologue written about B.C. 100, was attributed to Jonah ben-Amittai who predicted the victories of Jeroboam II (B.C. 782-743). See 2 K 14, 25 and cf. p. 289 of my paper cited in n. 28 on I.

¹¹ The approximate dates prefixed to the preceding translation of the six poems (V-X) in the Maccabean Appendix do not exactly indicate the years in which those poems were written, but the time to which they refer. They can hardly be earlier than the dates indicated, but they may have been composed later (cf. n. 1 on V, and n. 7 on X).

¹² Our modern oratorios contain a conglomeration of more or less incoherent Biblical extracts with introductory formulæ and connecting links.

¹³ For the etymology of *Adar* see n. 3 on VI; cf. my paper on *Adar* and *Elul* in ZDMG 64, part 3.

¹⁴ The commemoration of Nicanor's Day was combined with the feast of Purim, which

long siege of Samaria reminded the compiler of this Maccabean oratorio of the ancient poet Micah's lines alluding to Sennacherib's¹⁵ siege of Jerusalem¹⁵ and his capture of the Judean cities in the Shephelah with the capital Mareshah, the birthplace of Micah, especially as Hyrcanus besieged Samaria, because the Samaritans had attacked the people of Mareshah, who were Jewish colonists and Hyrcanus' allies (Jos. *Ant.* 13, 10, 2). The city of Samaria was not inhabited by Samaritans at that time, but by descendants of the Macedonian colonists whom Alexander the Great had settled there in 331 B.C. Both Samaria and Beth-shean, at that time known as Scythopolis, were Hellenistic cities (GJV 2, 18, 195).⁹ Subsequent editors and commentators confounded John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria in 107 with Sargon's capture of Samaria in 721.¹⁶ There was no destruction of Samaria in the pre-Grecian period: Samaria was destroyed by Ptolemy Lagi in 312 (GJV 2, 196)⁹ and by Demetrius Poliarctes in 296; but when Sargon captured the capital of the Northern Kingdom in 721, he did not destroy the city.

Also some of the glosses to the genuine poems of Micah¹⁷ of Mareshah are Maccabean (e.g. 4, 11-13). Only 33½ lines in the first three chapters are genuine.¹⁸ This section is perhaps the most difficult in OT; the text

is the ancient Babylonian and Persian New Year's festival at the time of the vernal equinox. *Esther* is a Persian festal legend for the Feast of Purim, and *Judith* a Palestinian festal legend for this purpose, whereas the so-called Third Book of the Maccabees is an Alexandrian Purim legend. *Judith* is Pharisaic; *Esther*, Sadducean. *Esther* was composed by a Persian Jew under the reign of the nephew of Judas Maccabeus, John Hyrcanus, about 130 B.C. See *Pur.* 3, 1; 4, 39; 7, 30; *Nah.* 7-11; ZDMG 61, 278-280; *Est.* 2. 30. 32. 76. 78; *AJSL* 26, 224, n. *. Cf. Volz's review of *Pur.* in *TLZ* 33, 33.

¹⁵The names of Sennacherib and Jerusalem are not mentioned in Micah's genuine poems, and if the hearers of this Maccabean oratorio in the days of John Hyrcanus did not understand Micah's poems any better than do the modern commentators, they did not take exception to this incongruous mixture of old and new texts. Micah's arraignment of the unjust rulers and false prophets, and his denunciation of the oppressors of the people, were probably understood to refer to the Syrian persecutors and the Hellenizers at the beginning of the Maccabean period. If we compare the titles of the psalms, which were probably (cf. n. 39 on VIII) added after the death (B.C. 76) of John Hyrcanus' son Alexander Jannæus, or the headings of the chapters in AV representing the traditional interpretation (BL xxxvi, n. 29) of the Biblical Love-Songs, we cannot be surprised at this lack of literary criticism.

¹⁶(cf. n. 27 on I. Similarly *Darius the Mede* seems to be based on a confusion of the fall of Nineveh (606) and the overthrow of Babylon at the hands of Cyrus (538) with the capture of Babylon under Darius Hystaspis (520). See *Daniel* 29, 15; cf. Marti in *HSAT* 2, 432, n. I. Marti still adheres to the wrong translation of *naziq* (*Dan.* 6, 3). Contrast *Est.* 51; GB 908b. Nor has Steuernagel (*HSAT* 2, 412) given a correct rendering of *Est.* 4, 7. He seems to ignore *Est.*

¹⁷The rhythm of my translation of these poems has been much improved in a number of passages by the kind assistance of the distinguished co-editor of the Polychrome Bible, Horace Howard Furness.

¹⁸Also in the Book of Nahum we have 32 genuine lines; the original portions of Ecclesiastes comprise 195 lines; the Biblical Love-Songs contain 164 genuine lines. The number of the genuine lines in the Book of Amos is 127.

is full of corruptions,¹⁹ dittographies, haplographies, transpositions, displacements, expansions, glosses, variants, illustrative quotations, &c. The three genuine poems of Micah exhibit three different meters: 3+3, 2+2, and 3+2. In the Maccabean appendix all the poems except VII have 3+3 beats in each line, only VII is written in pentapodies (3+2). All the poems (except VIII, which is composed of eight triplets) consist of couplets (see AJSL 26, 202).

The poet Micah was a younger contemporary of the prophet Isaiah. He is more democratic than this *King of the Prophets*: he identified himself with the poor.²⁰ He apostrophizes the ruling caste of Jerusalem:—Against my people ye rise as foes, from peaceful men ye strip their mantles. Our wives ye chase from blissful homes, from tender children ye take our mothers.—They plan mischief, says Micah, upon their beds (cf. Ps. 36, 5) and do it in broad daylight, because it is in their power. They covet fields, and snatch away homes, oppressing yeomen, their homes and heritage.—Under such conditions Micah considered it impossible that Judah should make head against the Assyrian invasion. The Judean cities in the Shephelah, where he was born, are doomed, and their deadly wounds extend to the gates of Jerusalem. Zion will be razed to the ground, Jerusalem will become a heap of ruins, and the Temple mount a wooded height: shrubs will grow in the courts as in a forest (1 M 4, 38).²¹ He was not put to death by King Hezekiah and all Judah, but his poem predicting the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple has been suppressed, and it would have been lost altogether if 1½ lines of it had not been quoted in Jer. 26, 18. Micah believed that the impending ruin of Jerusalem and Judah was due to the oppression of the lower classes at the hands of the grasping aristocracy of the capital. He is socialistic rather than religious: in his genuine poems the religious element is conspicuous by its absence²² just as the feeling expressed in David's dirge on Saul and Jonathan is purely human.²³

One of the foremost Biblical scholars remarks that the rhetorical style of the first chapter of the Book of Micah differs from the simplicity of Amos and the originality of Hosea. The first part (vv. 2-8) of the opening chapter is said to be pompous;²⁴ the second (vv. 9-16) has been called a *capucinade*.²⁴ But the psalm prefixed to the Book (1, 2-7) was

¹⁹ Dr. John Taylor, *The Massoretic Text and the Ancient Versions of the Book of Micah* (London, 1890) p. 193, gives a list of 39 proposed alterations, 30 of which are incorrect. Among the seven alterations for which a fair degree of probability may be claimed (p. 195) there is not one acceptable emendation.

²⁰ Cf. n. 2 on II, and nn. 4, 8 on I.

²¹ Cf. n. 9 on II. Nor is there any religious sentiment in the genuine poems of Nahum (*Nah.* 11-15; ZDMG 61, 280-283).

²² See JHUC, No. 163, pp. 54* and 55b.

²³ W. Robertson Smith, on the other hand, called it a *majestic exordium*.

²⁴ Cf. the conclusion of n. 1 on III.

not composed by Micah of Mareshah about B.C. 701: it was written by a Maccabean poet about B.C. 107, and the second part (vv. 9-16) is not a capucinade, *i.e.* a weak sermon, but a patriotic elegy. Micah is just as simple as Amos, and just as original as Hosea, if we compare the genuine poems of this great trio. We cannot appreciate the original beauty without the excision of later additions and excrescences. This is not a radical destruction of the original, but a conservation.²⁵

I

(1) From a legal point of view; cf. n. 24.

(2) From the moral standpoint.

(3) Zion may be built up and embellished, Jerusalem may be enlarged and enriched; but the rulers are responsible for many bloody deeds and flagrant outrages; cf. Hab. 2, 12; Jer. 22, 13-19; Is. 1, 15, and Ez. 24, 6, 9, and the story of Naboth's judicial murder, under the reign of Ahab of Israel, about B.C. 850 (1 K 21). For *Zion* cf. n. 3 on IV, and the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 235.

(4) The poet says simply *from them*; he had the poor with him always; the poor never ceased out of the land; and the common people heard him gladly when he denounced the unjust rulers; cf. Mark 14, 7; 12, 37; Deut. 15, 11, and n. 2 on II.

(5) Lit. *in* or rather *into*, *i.e.* *which is to be put into the pot*.*

(6) The rulers are blood-suckers; they bleed and skin the poor people, they suck the marrow from their bones, and crush them.

(7) The false prophets in Jerusalem.

(8) Lit. *who bite with their teeth and cry: Prosperity*, that is, as long as they have their bread and butter,† and make money, they extol the prosperity of the kingdom, even if the poor be starving. Similarly a senatorial committee appointed to inquire into the high cost of the necessities of life may easily come to the conclusion that the country is more prosperous than ever. The false prophets were stand-patters.

(9) If anyone denounces them and interferes with their business.

(10) Lit. *consecrate*; war was opened with sacred ceremonies, but the translation *they begin a holy war against him* would be misleading.

(11) Disaster will overtake them.

(12) The outlook will be so gloomy that no one will be able to prophesy anything favorable.

(13) The false prophets who predicted a favorable outcome.

²⁵ Cf. the conclusion of my paper *Micah's Capucinade* in JBL 29.

*The Greek Bible has *εἰς χύτραν*, and *εἰς λεβητα* in gloss ζ. Cf. Ezek. 24, 3: *ἐγχεον εἰς αὐτὸν ὕδωρ*=Heb. *yḥṣôq bô m'áim*, *pour water into it*.

†Or oil; see n. 5 on X; EB 3469, 5, and the translation of *Leviticus*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 63, l. 42.

(14) As a sign of mourning (Ez. 24, 17). Originally mourners tore their hair and their beards (Ezr. 9, 3). Afterwards they merely shaved some bald spots in their hair, and covered their mustaches (*Pur.* 25, 1 and nn. 7 and 27 on III).

(15) The capital of the Shephelah, *i.e.* the region of the foothills between the mountains of Judah and the Mediterranean. *Marëshah* (Josh. 15, 44) means *capital*; it is connected with *rēs=rōš*, *head* (n. 25 on III). *Micah the Morasthite** is incorrect. There is no city of *More-sheth*. In 1, 14 (III, v) we must read *mōréset=mē'ōréset*, *bride-elect*, from *'ōrás*, *to be betrothed* (n. 21 on III). *Mareshah*, afterwards known as Eleutheropolis, is the present Tell Sandahanna, *i.e.* the southeastern hill of the three hills between which the modern village of *Bēt Jibrīn*, NE of Gaza, SW of Jerusalem, is situated on the road from Hebron to Gaza, four hours from Hebron, and about nine hours from Jerusalem. In 1 M 5, 66 we must read *Marisa* = *Mareshah* (cf. 2 M 12, 35) instead of *Samaria*.

(16) Hezekiah seems to have reigned 714–685 B.C.

(17) Jacob was originally a deity of the pre-Davidic Israelites, who was worshiped at Beth-el (n. 35 on V) just as Abraham was worshiped at Hebron, and Isaac at Beer-sheba (OLZ 12, 212). After the fall of the Northern Kingdom (721 B.C.) and the Babylonian Captivity (597–538 B.C.) *Jacob* was used as a poetic name for *Jewry* (ZDMG 61, 285, l. 20; 287, l. 14; *Nah.* 23).

(18) Israel denoted originally the northern confederation of tribes which were settled in Palestine (Ephraim) several centuries before the Edomite ancestors of the Jews invaded Palestine from the south. David forced the Israelites to adopt the worship of יהוה, but after the disruption of the empire (about 970 B.C.) the Israelites relapsed again into idolatry. The Israelites have disappeared; they survive only, mixed with numerous foreign elements, including Aryan† colonists, in the Samaritans, whose number is now reduced to about 170 souls. After the Babylonian Captivity (538 B.C.) the name *Israel* was used for *Jewry*,‡ as were also *Jacob* (see n. 17) and *Joseph*. Cf. ZDMG 63, 507, ll. 29, 1; 516, l. 5; 528, l. 13; Haupt, *The Burning Bush and the Origin of Judaism in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. xlviii, No. 193, pp. 358, 366.

(19) Lit. *house*, *i.e.* *family*, *race*, *nation*.

(20) Give oracular decisions and opinions based on the Law (*Tōrdh*).

(21) Cf. 1 S 9, 8; 1 K 14, 3; 2 K 8, 8; Ez. 13, 19; Am. 7, 12.

*RV has *Morashtite* instead of AV *Morasthite*.

†Cf. footnote to n. 4 on VII.

‡Cf. *e.g.* 1 M 2, 42; 3, 8; 7, 5, 9, 13, 22, 23, 26, 35; 9, 27, 73; 10, 46; 12, 52; 13, 4, 26; 16, 2. Contrast 1 K 12, 20; Hos. 4, 15; also n. 14 on IX.

(22) If a man paid a priest or prophet well, he could obtain a favorable answer which was supposed to be inspired by יהוה.

After this line we must supply (but not insert; cf. VIII, v and BL 40, n. 13) *saying*.

(23) Even when true patriots like Micah foresaw a catastrophe, the upper classes, including the priests and false prophets, were still optimistic.

(24) The Heb. word denotes not only what is right (n. 1) but also the right way of doing a thing. Cf. the gloss to the proverbial poem (JHUC, No. 163, p. 89^b) in Is. 28, 26: He has trained him with regard to the proper way; also Jud. 13, 12 where Manoah asks the angel: What is the proper way with regard to the child, and what must be done with regard to him? (not *What shall be the manner of the child, and what shall be his work?* so RV). Cf. n. 25.

(25) Both physical and moral, Lat. *virtus*, courage; cf. Jer. 9, 23 (Heb. 22) and Joel 4, 10. *Power* is the mental power due to divine inspiration; *skill*, the knowledge of the proper way, the expertness derived from experience; *strength*, the courage.

(26) He will disregard them, pay no attention to their entreaties. He will not lift up His countenance upon them (Num. 6, 26) and make His face shine upon them, *i.e.* He will not look at them, let alone beam upon them.

(27) Jotham ben-Azariah acceded to the throne of Judah about 740 B.C. He seems to have reigned 739-734 B.C. Jotham's son Ahaz probably reigned 733-721 B.C. The names of Jotham and Ahaz (cf. Is. 1, 1) were added by a glossator who referred the glorification of John Hyrcanus' destruction (about 107 B.C.) of Samaria, which we find in IX, to Sargon's capture of Samaria in 721 B.C. Cf. above, p. 16, l. 11.

(28) In a vision; cf. my remarks on the religion of the Hebrew prophets in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1908) p. 271.

(29) This gloss is unnecessary; cf. n. 22, and n. 19 on II.

II

(1) The Heb. text has the same verb (AV *they covet fields*) which is used in Ex. 20, 17. The Decalogue is later than Micah's poems; cf. p. 367 of the paper cited at the end of n. 18 on I; also ZDMG 63, 528, l. 31.

(2) The prophet identifies himself with the poor people (n. 5, and n. 4 on I). Geo. A. Smith calls Micah the *Prophet of the Poor*.

(3) You treat your own countrymen as though you were foreign invaders (2 M 5, 6). For *peaceful men* cf. the corrected text (OLZ 10, 308) of Am. 1, 6; also Ps. 55, 21.

(4) Even when a man seized the upper garment (*Cant.* 36, n. 10; BL

54, n. 10) of a poor debtor, he was obliged to restore it to him at sunset (Ex. 22, 26; Deut. 24, 13).*

(5) Micah says *my wives, my mothers* (lit. *pregnant women*). Cf. nn. 2, 13, n. 10 on III, and n. 2 on VIII.

(6) The places of connubial bliss, the harems. In a cuneiform incantation against evil spirits we read: *They startle the maid in her chamber, they drive the lord from his harem* (lit. *from the house of her union, i.e. union with her*).† Prov. 21, 9 (25, 24) means: *A corner on the roof is better than a termagant's conjugal chamber.*

(7) Cf. Neh. 5, 1-5.

(8) Clique.

(9) JHVH. It is possible, however, that *he will plan* is impersonal (n. 17 on III).

(10) The Heb. word denotes especially a poetic line consisting of two hemistichs (AJSL 26, 201, n. 3).

(11) The Heb. word is *nihyāh* which has passed into Greek and Latin as *nenia* (for *nehya*).

(12) Their punishment will be according to the law of retaliation: *eye for eye, and tooth for tooth* (Ex. 21, 24; Lev. 24, 20; Deut. 19, 21; Matt. 5, 38). As they spoiled their poor brethren, so they will be spoiled by the Assyrians; the foreign invaders will deprive them of their lands, just as they have robbed the poor of their homes and heritages (cf. the conclusion of n. 15). If the upper classes in Jerusalem had not ruined the poor people in the country, Judah might have been able to make head against the Assyrian invasion.

(13) The glossator who added *people's* to *my* (n. 5) *wives* referred the pronoun to JHVH; but the prophet speaks here, not JHVH.

(14) Lit. *ye will not go to a height*. The phrase to *set on high* (AVM in Ps. 59, 1) means *to save*. *Flood*=calamity (AJSL 23, 258, n. 3; 26, 209) and *high place*=place of safety (Ps. 40, 2).

(15) This clause may be a tertiary addition, but it is not a quotation from Am. 5, 13. The glossator meant to say, The Assyrian invasion will be a terrible calamity, and the upper classes will not escape. After the siege of Jerusalem in 597 the upper classes were deported to Babylonia; *none remained save the poorest sort of the people of the land* (2 K 24, 14). And when Jerusalem was destroyed in 586, *Nebuzar-adan left of the poor of the people, which had nothing, in the land of Judah, and gave them vineyards and fields at the same time* (Jer. 39, 10; cf. 52, 16=2 K 25, 12). The lands of the upper classes, who had formerly

*The Heb. word for *mantle* (addért) denotes originally *camel's hair* (Mark 1, 6; Matt. 3, 4). It is connected with Assyr *udru*, *camel*, originally *drove* (=Heb. 'edr) of *camels*. For the *mantle of Shinar* (addért Šin'ár) or *Babylonish garment* in Josh. 7, 21 we must read addért se'ár as in Gen. 25, 25; Zech. 13, 4. (cf. EB 2933,5). See AJSL 26, 207; cf. my paper *Adar and Elul* in ZDMG 64, part 3.

†Assyr. *ardata ina maštakiša ušēlā, edla ina bit emātiša ušēqa*.

robbed the poor of their houses and fields, were assigned to the poor at the beginning of the Babylonian Captivity (cf. above, n. 12).

(16) Moral impurity and corruption.

(17) The Assyrian invasion (cf. gloss ξ).

(18) This is a (gratuitous) correction of the word in the text; a glossator substituted the shorter masculine form *neh y* for the feminine form *nihyāh* (cf. n. 11).

(19) This addition is unnecessary (cf. n. 29 on I).

(20) The Assyrians who lead us into captivity (cf. n. 15).

(21) The Assyrian conquerors will distribute our lands (cf. 1 M 3, 36).

(22) The lands will not be allotted by the officials of the Jewish Congregation (Josh. 18, 10; Ps. 78, 55; Ez. 45, 1).

(23) This is a protest against the threat (contained in vv. 3. 4) that Judah will perish (W). For *race of Jacob* (1 M 5, 2) see nn. 17. 19 on I. V. 6 might be given as a tertiary gloss, v. 7 as a quaternary addition, and v. 11 may be post-quaternary. We may supply (but not insert) before v. 6: The rulers may have said of Micah and his followers.

(24) This is a later theological gloss (n. 39 on V).

(25) Lit. *and lie wind*.

(26) This was an intoxicating beverage (AV *strong drink*) made from honey, or dates, or from the fermented juices of other fruits (EB 5309, 8; 5318, 25).

(27) While v. 6 is a protest against Micah's threats in vv. 3. 4, v. 11 represents a protest against the criticism contained in v. 6. The glossator meant to say, You cannot always talk of wine and mead, feasts and banquets, and other pleasant entertainments; it is sometimes necessary to talk plainly.

(28) This is a variant to the phrase in the text. Both expressions are impersonal (n. 17 on III).

(29) The Heb. has here the older ending *-n*, which is common in Aramaic, just as the older termination of the English infinitive is still common in German.

III

(1) This lamentation is composed in the same meter (with 3+2 beats in each line) which we find in the Maccabean (OLZ 10, 63) elegies known as the Lamentations of Jeremiah (Heb. *qīnôṭ*). It is therefore called by some the *qīnāh* meter. But this name is a misnomer; we find these pentapodies in a great many poems which are in no way elegiac (e.g. Ps. 23 and 110; Nah. 10 and 14) and several threnetic poems (e.g. David's dirge on Saul and Jonathan; JHUC, No. 163, p. 55) exhibit a different meter (AJSL 20, 165, n. 9; 21, 137). We have lines with 3+2 beats in English poems like Walter Scott's

Proud Máisie is in the wóod,
Wáiking so éarly,
Sweet Róbin sits on the búsh,
Sínging so rárely.

or P. B. Shelley's

One wórd is too óften profáned
For mé to profáne it.

See p. 270 of the paper cited in n. 28 on I; AJSL 26, 202, n. 4.

This patriotic elegy has been called by some distinguished scholars a *capucinade*, because they understood neither the meaning of this term, which denotes a weak sermon,* nor the meaning of the Heb. text; cf. my paper *Micah's Capucinade*, in JBL 29.

(2) What the prophet predicted in his second poem (II) has come to pass: King Sennacherib of Assyria has invaded the Shephelah (n. 15 on I) and threatens Jerusalem. Sennacherib had captured Sidon, Sarepta, Achzib, Accho, and other Phenician strongholds. The rulers of Arvad, Gebal, Ashdod, and other Phenician cities, also Ammon, Moab, and Edom, had submitted to the Assyrian king. The rebellious ruler of Ashkelon had been deported with his family to Assyria. Joppa and other cities belonging to Ashkelon had been sacked. The great army which the rulers of Egypt (IN 466) had sent against Sennacherib had been defeated by the Assyrians at Eltekeh. Eltekeh and Timnath were reduced, Ekron submitted. Sennacherib then proceeded to ravage Judah, capturing 46 fortified towns and countless villages; more than 200,000 people were carried into captivity (cf. EB 4364. 4368 and the translation of Sennacherib's cuneiform account of his campaign against Palestine in KB 2, 91-97; also 2 K 18, 13).

(3) As a sign of mourning (2 S 15, 30; Is. 20, 3: *Pur.* 24, 40). The Heb. text has *barefoot and unclad*. The two words have been tranposed in the English translation for the sake of the rhythm. *Unclad* means *stripped of all clothing save the coarse loin-cloth* (sack-cloth).† Mourners originally tore off their garments and put on a loin-cloth. Afterwards they merely tore their garments at the breast for a hand's breadth and put on the loin-cloth under their ordinary garments (*Est.* 38, cf. nn. 6. 27). According to Is. 20, 3 the prophet went unclad and barefoot for three years as a sign of mourning for the impending catastrophe of Egypt and Ethiopia to which Palestine looked for help against Assyria. This prophecy, however, was not fulfilled. Cf. the translation

*A capucinade is not a poem containing some paronomasias (n. 18).

†Cf. 2 M 3, 19: *the women were girt with sack-cloth under their breasts* (ὡς ζωσμέναι ὑπὸ τοῦς μαστοῦς αἱ γυναῖκες σάκκου), and 10, 25: *they girded their loins with sack-cloth* (τὰς δορῆας σάκκου ζωσάντες). Note also Ps. 30, 12: *Thou hast put off my sack-cloth and girded me with gladness*.

of *Isaiah*, in the Polychrome Bible, pp. 26. 153. In the gloss Is. 20, 2* we must, of course, read *Go, and gird* (wě-ḥaḡartá) *a sack-cloth on* ('al) *thy loins*† instead of *Go, and loose the sack-cloth‡ from off thy loins*. Similarly the scribes have substituted in ρ (n. 50) *they went out for they entered*,|| and in VI, vii RT reads *far removed* instead of *near*. In Ex. 23, 3 we must read *Thou must not countenance a great* (instead of *poor*) *man in his cause*. For similar confusions of the scribes cf. OLZ 12, 213, n. 7. A good many of the ancient scribes were not more exact than some of the modern commentators.

(4) That is, ostriches. At night the ostrich emits a hoarse, melancholy note resembling the lowing of an ox in pain.

(5) The Judean cities in the Shephelah (n. 2).

(6) Not *roll* or *wallow*, but *burrow, bury thyself, lie concealed*. Originally mourners prostrated themselves on the ground and rolled in the dust. Afterwards they merely sprinkled dust (or ashes) upon their heads (cf. n. 3; *Pur.* 24, 42, and *Jer.* 6, 26; 25, 34; also *Josh.* 7, 6; 1 S 4, 12; 2 S 1, 2; 13, 19; *Ez.* 27, 30; *Job* 2, 12; *Neh.* 9, 1).

(7) Cf. n. 14 on I, and *Lev.* 21, 5; *Is.* 15, 2; *Jer.* 16, 6; *Ez.* 7, 18.

(8) The griffin vulture (*Gyps fulvus*). Vultures have their head and neck more or less bare of feathers.

(9) The cities in the Shephelah (n. 2) have been battered by the Assyrians and have succumbed to the besiegers. This endangers Jerusalem. Sennacherib says in the cuneiform account of his campaign against Palestine (n. 2) that he shut in Hezekiah within his capital, Jerusalem, like a caged bird (n. 52 and 2 K 18, 17). Micah's elegy was composed before Saphir and Lachish (nn. 15. 19) were besieged by the Assyrians, and before Sennacherib blockaded Jerusalem.

(10) Cf. n. 5 on II. Micah means Jerusalem, not his native town Mareshah (n. 15 on I). Glosses ο. π. ηη are correct.

(11) Lit. *breaker*, i.e. one who makes breaches in the walls, &c. The poet means, of course, the Assyrian besiegers; but some modern commentators (NMG) think that this word denotes a *bell-wether*, and that this bell-wether is JHVH.

(12) The Assyrians.

(13) Sennacherib.

(14) Evacuate your city, if you desire to save yourselves; Saphir (n. 15) will surely fall into the hands of the Assyrians; cf. ψ.

*Also *unclad and barefoot* in v. 4 is a gloss; the following *with buttocks uncovered* is a tertiary addition, and *the shame of Egypt* a quaternary gloss. The captives were not led away *unclad and barefoot*.

†In other passages (e.g. 1 K 21, 27) we find the phrase *he put sack-cloth upon his flesh* (i.e. *privy parts*, cf. AJSL 26, 1).

‡This sack-cloth is, of course, entirely different from the addér̄t se'ár (cf. footnote to n. 4 on II).

§The Vulgate has *et ingredientur per eam*, but the *codex Amiatinus* reads *egredientur*.

(15) Šaphir (which means *Beautiful* in Aramaic, just as Joppa has this meaning in Heb.) is represented by the three villages Sawāfir (an Arabic plural form of Šaphir) NE of Ashkelon, SE of Ashdod, on the road from Ashkelon to Jerusalem. Micah, it may be supposed, advised the inhabitants of Saphir to evacuate their city after the ruler of Ashdod had submitted to the Assyrian king (n. 2).

(16) Lit. *its*. The possessive pronoun is sometimes used instead of the demonstrative pronoun (*Kings* 299, 30).

(17) The Heb. text has the impersonal construction *he* (i.e. *someone*) will take; cf. the conclusion of n. 28, nn. 9. 28 on II; also nn. 61. 67 on VIII, n. 7 on X, and the translation of *Leviticus*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 62, l. 53.

(18) Pack up your things, if you desire to save them! The city will be sacked by the Assyrians. Lit. *attach the cart to the steed* (cf. the Ciceronian *raeda equis juncta*) = Attach the steed to the cart, harness the horses to the wagons, as we might be inclined to say. There is a paronomasia (cf. nn. 24. 25. 31. 52) in the word for *steed* (Heb. *rāchsh*) and the name *Lachish*.* D translates: *Macht fertig Pferd und Gefährt die Bürgerschaft Lachis*. Dr. Furness suggested: *In carts bestow what ye lack, ye dwellers of Lachish*.

(19) The present Tell el-Ḥesyt on the road from Bēt Jibrīn (n. 15 on I) to Gaza, 16 miles E of Gaza, a little to the north, ten miles from Bēt Jibrīn. Sennacherib sent the Rabshakeh from Lachish to Jerusalem (2 K 18, 14. 17; cf. 19, 8; Is. 36, 2). A cuneiform legend (KB 2, 115) on an Assyrian relief, now in the British Museum, reads: Šin-axê-ri-ba šar kiššati šar māt Aššûr ina kussi nīmêdi ûšib-ma šallat al Lakīsu maxarsu êtiq, Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, sat on a high throne (lit. *a throne with a footstool*) while the spoil of Lachish passed before him. See the full-page illustration facing p. 48 of the translation of *Isaiah* in the Polychrome Bible. For the name of Sennacherib and nīmêdu, *footstool* see AJSL 26, 19, l. 5; 7, § 6. Tell-el-Ḥesyt was excavated by Professor Flinders Petrie in 1890, and his work was continued by Dr. Bliss. Cf. F. J. Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities; or Tell el-Hesyt Excavated* (1898).

(20) Lit. *verily thus* (kén, *thus* with prefixed emphatic *la*, *verily*)† *thou* (Jerusalem) *will give*.

(21) The bridegroom paid for his bride, but the bride (n. 15 on I) received some parting gifts from her parents (Josh. 15, 16; Jud. 1, 12). The same word (šillūḥim) is used in 1 K 9, 16. Jerusalem must part

*The original form of the name may have been *Rachish*, Heb. *rakīš* (cf. *rākûš*) with the meaning *acquired, domain*; cf. 2 Chr. 35, 7; 31, 3; 1 Chr. 27, 31; 28, 1, and the Assy. *qigir šarrûti* (AJSL 26, 13). The stem *rakāšu* probably means originally *to bind* = *rakāsu*. The original meaning of *rākš* may have been *bridled*.

†Ḥesyt (or ḥasī) denotes *level ground saturated with water*.

‡Cf. n. 61 to my paper *Micah's Capucinade* in JBL 29; see also JAOS 30, 343.

with Gath; her *daughter* (cf. couplet ii) will become the bride of Sennacherib, i.e. the city will be captured by the Assyrians. In an old German song of Prince Eugene and the city of Lille (BL 48, n. 11) this famous Austrian general, who captured Lille in 1708, says:

Prinz Eugen bin ich genennet,
Der zu dir in Liebe brennet,
Lill', du allerschönste Braut.

Lille answers:

Lieber Herr, fort packet euch,
Gehet in das deutsche Reich,
Denn ich habe zum Galanten,
Zum Gemahl und Caressanten,
König Ludwig von Frankreich.

But Prince Eugene says in the last stanza but one:

Lill', mein Engel und mein Lamm,
Ich weiss dir den Bräutigam,
Kaiser Karl, der Weltbekannte,
Ich bin nur sein Abgesandte,
Und des Kaisers General;

whereupon Lille concludes:

Ei wohlan, so lass es sein,
Karle sei der Liebste mein,
Denn der Ludewig veraltet,
Und die Lieb' ist ganz erkaltet,
Karl ist noch ein junger Held.*

A fortress that has never been taken is called a *maiden*, and a virgin is regarded as a fortress. In the Biblical Love-Songs (Cant. 8, 10) the maiden says of her brothers:

Albeit a wall am I, thus far,
my bosom is growing like towers,
And to them I am verily seeming
ready to surrender the fortress.†

In Goethe's *Faust* we read: *Mädchen und Burgen müssen sich geben*.

(22) Gath (i.e. *Winepress*; cf. n. 42 on V) was one of the five royal cities of the Philistines (n. 20 on VIII). Goliath came from Gath. Ittai of Gath was the captain of 600 men in the service of David. According to 1 Chr. 18, 1, David took Gath and her towns (lit. *daughters*) out of the hands of the Philistines. Rehoboam fortified Gath (also Mareshah and Lachish; cf. 2 Chr. 11, 7-9). St. Jerome (*ad Mic.* 1, 10) says that Gath was situated on the road from Eleutheropolis (Mareshah; cf. n. 15

*When Prince Eugene captured Lille in 1708, Charles VI was but 23 years old, while Louis XIV was 70.

†Cf. *Cant.* 6, vi; 32, n. 24; 84 and 60; BL 41, n. 20. Contrast Budde's meaningless translation in HSAT 2, 371.

on I) to Gaza. It may be the modern 'Arāq el-munšīyah between Eleutheropolis and Lachish, less than two hours from Tell el-Ḥesy (n. 19).

(23) Not the Phenician city (n. 2) nine miles N of Accho, near the promontory of Rās-el-Naḡūrah, but the Judean city which is mentioned in conjunction with Mareshah (n. 25) in Josh. 15, 44. In the story of Judah and Tamar (see footnote to n. 24 on IX) this name appears as *Chezib*.

(24) More accurately, Achzib, the maiden, will jilt the king of Judah;* lit. *will be deceitful to the king of Judah*. There is a paronomasia (n. 18) in the word for *deceitful* (Heb. achzáb) and the name *Achzib*. Heb. achzáb denotes especially a *deceitful brook*, i.e. a stream which is dry during the summer. The achzáb deceives and disappoints the wanderer who expects to refresh himself with its water; Achzib will disappoint the king of Judah, and succumb to Sennacherib. D translates: *Den Königen Israels lässt Achsib das Nachsehen*. Dr. Furness suggested: *Deceitfully acts Achzib toward the King of Judah*.

In modern Palestinian songs a maiden is often called a *well* or a *fountain*. Waterwheels and buckets symbolize the enjoyment of love. The beloved is said to have a water-wheel in her palate, because her kisses are so refreshing. The bride is the fountain of pleasure, the source of delight, the wellspring of happiness, the cistern of bliss, the stream of enjoyment. In a modern Palestinian song the maiden says, When thou art thirsty, I promise thee water of my breasts which are like water-wheels, i.e. If you desire me, my charms will satisfy you. Ecclesiastes (12, 1) says, *Remember thy well (i.e. thy wife) in thy youth*. In Prov. 5, 15 we read:

Drink water from thine own cistern
and the flow from thine own well!

i.e. Enjoy only the wife of thy youth (see v. 18).†

(25) Lit. *the heir will go in to thee, O maiden Mareshah*. There is a paronomasia (n. 18) in the word for *heir* (Heb. yôrêš) and the name *Marêšháh* (n. 15 on I). *Môrasháh* means *inheritance, possession*. But there is no etymological connection between *môrasháh*, *inheritance*, and *Marêšháh*.‡ D translates: *Der Räuber ist auf dem*

*RT has *Israel* instead of *Judah*; so, too, in the last line of this poem and in gloss A. Cf. conclusion of n. 18 on I, and n. 8 on V.

†Cf. Cant. 48, n. 36; BL 89. and nn. 72-84 to my paper *Micah's Capucinade* in JBL 29.

‡The name of the capital of the Shephelah is connected with *rêš*=*rôš*, *head*; whereas *yôrêš*, *heir*, is connected with *tirôš*, *must*, the unfermented juice pressed from the grapes. The original meaning of *yarâš* is *to press, squeeze, extort, rob, bereave*. *Yirâš*, *he falls heir* means originally *he is bereft*; cf. German *Erbe*, *heir*=Lat. *orbis*, *bereft*=Greek *ὀρφανός*, *orphan*. Lat. *heres*, *heir* is connected with *xḗpos*, empty, bare, destitute, bereft, widowed (AJSL 26, 215).

Marsche, Weh dir, Marescha. Dr. Furness suggested: *To thy chamber marches the heir, O city of Mareschah.*

Sennacherib will inherit (*i.e.* take possession of) this daughter of Judah (*cf.* couplet ii). Among the ancient Hebrews the heir appropriated even the concubines of his deceased father. A man's widow could be inherited like chattel. Sennacherib will go in to this daughter of the kingdom of Judah, just as Absalom went in unto David's concubines.* Pseudo-Smerdis appropriated the royal harem of his predecessor Cambyses (*Pur.* 8, 27). *Cf.* also *Hom. Il.* 9, 453.

(26) This is a marginal quotation from 2 S 1, 20, *i.e.* David's dirge on Saul and Jonathan (n. 1).

(27) As a sign of mourning. Originally mourners scratched themselves till the blood ran; afterwards they merely made some symbolical incisions (*cf.* nn. 3, 7; also *Lev.* 19, 28; 21, 5; *Deut.* 14, 1; *Jer.* 16, 6; 41, 5; 48, 37). The mourners did not shed their blood to feed the manes of departed friends; nor was this practice a blood-covenant with the dead, or a symbolical expression for the willingness of the mourner to depart and be with the loved and lost one. Contrast EB 972 and the translation of *Leviticus*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 90, l. 20.

(28) Nebuchadnezzar (2 K 25, 1). This couplet is a quotation from a poem describing the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. (so, correctly, M). At that time Nebuchadnezzar himself was at Riblah (2 K 25, 6) *i.e.* Arbela=Irbid, SW of Magdala, NW of Hammoth, the ancient capital of Galilee (S of Tiberias). In other passages this name appears as *Arpad* (OLZ 11, 238; TOCR 1, 302; AAJ 5). The phrase *he has laid* may also be impersonal=*someone has laid* or *it has been laid*; *cf.* n. 17.

Micah says in his elegy, *For thy charming daughters* (n. 5) *poll thy head like a griffin*. The glossator meant to say, Similarly a poet says in a poem describing the fall of Jerusalem, *Now lacerate thy flesh &c.*

(29) The people of Jerusalem.

(30) Not *with a rod*. A man is not smitten on the cheek with a rod.† The regent of Judah will be insulted in this manner when he is arraigned before Nebuchadnezzar (2 K 25, 6; *Jer.* 39, 5; 52, 9; *cf.* 1, 16; 4, 12; 12, 1) just as Jesus was smitten on the cheek when he was examined before Caiaphas.‡

(31) King Zedekiah of Judah (597-586 B.C.) is not called *king*, but *regent*, or *ruler* (Heb. šōfēṭ, which is the same word as the Carthaginian title *sufes*) because the author of this poem regarded Jehoiachin as the legitimate King of Judah, although he had been deported to Babylonia;

* See 2 S 16, 20; *cf.* also *Ez.* 22, 10; *Lev.* 18, 8; *Deut.* 27, 20; 1 K 2, 13; *Gen.* 35, 22; 49, 3.

† *Cf.* *John* 18, 22; ἰδωκεν πάνισμα τῷ Ἰησοῦ, *scil.* eis staxóna, not *he struck him with a rod* (AV¹⁹). The Vulgate has, correctly, *dedit alapam Jesu*.

‡ *Cf.* also 1 K 22, 24; *Job* 16, 10; *Matt.* 26, 67 (ἐπάτισαν).

nor does Ezekiel call Zedekiah *king*. Cf. 2 K 25, 27 and Ez. 1, 2; 21, 25-27 (Heb. 30-32).*

There is a paronomasia (nn. 18. 24. 25. 52) in the word for *trial* (Heb. šāft) and the word for *regent* or *ruler* (Heb. šōfēṭ). If ba-šāvt, *with the rod*, were correct, we might imitate this by the translation *with a ruler they will strike on the cheek the ruler of Judah*. The paronomasia in the corrected text may be rendered by *The court* (n. 37 on VIII) *of Judah will be slapped in court*.

(32) RT has *Israel*; cf. footnote to n. 24, also n. 44 on VIII.

(33) Lit. *she travailed* (labored) *for a good thing*. This calamity came from JHVH; cf. gloss π and 2 M 5, 17; 6, 12-16; 7, 33, also the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, 1, 4; 4, 1; 6, 9, and my remarks on the doctrine *God chastises him whom He loves* on p. 270 of the paper cited in n. 28 on I. Sennacherib's blockade of Jerusalem and the miraculous preservation of the city exercised a profound influence on the religion of the chosen people. The Exodus from Egypt and the crossing of the Red Sea laid the foundation of the Mosaic Law, and the preservation of Jerusalem in 701 B.C. established the religion of the prophets.†

(34) In the Maccabean poem Is. 26, 5 the Samaritans are called *those who dwell on high*. The lofty city which has been razed to the ground is Samaria (n. 27 on I). Here *she who dwells on high* denotes Zion (contrast n. 2 on X).

(35) The following two triplets (with 2+2 beats) are a quotation illustrating the metaphorical use‡ of the verb *she suffered* (lit. *travailed*) in the preceding theological gloss. In the Heb. text we have the same word for *she suffered* (ḥālah) and *pangs* (ḥīl) as well as *suffer pangs* (ḥīli). The verb translated *labor* means lit. *expel* (the fetus). This *expulsion* is especially painful.

(36) Jerusalem.

(37) This king is not JHVH (Jer. 8, 19) but Zedekiah, who had fled from Jerusalem, with all his army, but was captured near Jericho and taken to Riblah=Arbela in Galilee (cf. n. 28 and Jer. 39, 4; 52, 7; 2 K 25, 5).

(38) Also the leading men and advisers of the king had been sent to Riblah (2 K 25, 18. 19). Among those who remained there was hardly anyone who had experience in public affairs (EB 2249, § 45).

(39) The rest of the people that were left in the city (2 K 25, 11). Only the poor of the land were left behind. According to Jer. 52, 30 the

*See the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 94, n. *; p. 132, l. 23; also p. 109, l. 24; p. 133, l. 27; p. 137, ll. 49-52, and p. 2 of the remarks on my translation of Is. 40, in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (Leipzig, 1902). Cf. also EB 2348.

†Cf. EB 2244, § 35; n. 19 to my paper *Babel and Bible* (JHUC, No. 163, p. 53) and the conclusion of my paper *Midian and Sinai* in ZDMG 63, 513, l. 6.

‡Cf. Is. 26, 17. 18; 37, 3; 66, 7. 9; Jer. 6, 24; 22, 23; Hos. 13, 13.

aggregate number of the persons who were deported from Jerusalem to Babylonia was 4,600.

(40) During the long journey from Jerusalem to Babylonia. Contrast Ps. 121, 6 (AJSL 11, 123; cf. footnote to n. 3 on V).

(41) While the poem from which the preceding two triplets are quoted may have been written toward the end of the Babylonian Captivity (see the remarks on Is. 40, cited in the footnote to n. 31) about B.C. 539, the present passage is Maccabean: it refers to the time *when the nations round about . . . thought to destroy the race of Jacob*.^{*} The Book of Obadiah (except vv. 5, 7 which are taken from an old poem composed about 580 B.C.) was written in the same year (164 B.C.) as were also Pss. 60 and 68; see *Florilegium Melchior de Vogue* (Paris, 1909) p. 281 (cf. n. 23 on VIII).

(42) See 1 M 5, 1. 10. 15. 38; cf. also 3, 52. 58; 12, 13. 53; 13, 6.

(43) Paganized; cf. 1 M 1, 41-49. 54. 59; 2, 15; 14, 31; 2 M 4, 10-15; 6, 1-9. The nations round about were incensed over Judas Maccabæus' rededication of the Temple (December, 165 B.C.). Cf. 1 M 5, 1; 4, 38. 43-45.

(44) JHVH has gathered all those nations around you, not that they may crush you with their superior force, but that you may be able to exterminate all at once. JHVH Himself will overthrow them before our face. Cf. 1 M 3, 18. 22; Joel 4, 2. 12. 14.

(45) Cf. Joel 4, 13; also Is. 41, 15. To *thresh* (or *tread down*) is often used in cuneiform accounts of warfare (*Kings* 243, 23). The grain was trampled out by oxen (Hos. 10, 11; Deut. 25, 4, and conclusion of n. 3 on VI).

(46) JHVH will double and treble the strength of the Maccabean fighters; they will be, as it were, like fighting-cocks with metal spurs (cf. 1 M 3, 19; 4, 30; 7, 42; also 4, 6; 2 M 15, 11. 21, and AJSL 23, 230, n. 24). For *horns of iron* see 1 K 22, 11=2 Chr. 18, 10; cf. Deut. 33, 17. Sardanapalus says in the cuneiform account of his Arabian campaign (KB 2, 227, l. 78) that Beltis had pushed † his enemies with her powerful horns. See also Ps. 44, 6.

(47) Cf. 1 M 4, 23; 5, 68; 7, 47; also Ps. 68, 13. 14 (AJSL 23, 223) and 2 M 8, 30. For *devote* see Josh. 6, 18. 24; cf. the translation of *Joshua*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 63, l. 18.

(48) Cf. Josh. 3, 11. 13; Zech. 4, 14; 6, 5; Ps. 97, 5; 2 M 12, 15. See also Deut. 10, 14.

(49) Cf. the beginning of note 33.

(50) RT reads *are gone out by it*; cf. conclusion of n. 3.

(51) Cf. for this term the explanation of Ps. 23 in AJSL 21, 141, n. 21.

^{*} See 1 M 5, 1. 2. 38; cf. Pss. 83, 4-9; 118, 10-12, and n. 7 on VII; also 1 M 3, 52. 58; 4, 8.

† Assyr. *nakapu*=*nagapu* (partial assimilation). Cf. Assyr. *nagašu* and Heb. *nagāḥ*.

(52) Lit. *the inhabitants of Zaanan could not go out*. There is a paronomasia (n. 18) in the name *Zaanan* (Heb. צַ'אנָן) and the verb *go out* (Heb. יָצָא). *Zaanan* is a by-form of *Zion*. Both names mean *protection, protected place*. Now this well-protected place is blockaded by Sennacherib, all egress is cut off (n. 9).

IV

- (1) Cf. above, p. 14, l. 22; p. 17, l. 23.
- (2) Lit. *into*. *Zion* is to be reduced to arable land, leveled with the ground, razed to the ground (2 M 9, 14).
- (3) *Zion* denotes here, not the Temple hill, but the whole city of Jerusalem (Is. 4, 3, 4; 30, 19; Lam. 5, 11; cf. n. 52 on III, also n. 3 on I).
- (4) Of ruins.
- (5) Shrubs will grow in the courts as in a forest or on one of the mountains; cf. 1 M 4, 38; also Hos. 10, 8; Is. 34, 13 (AJSL 19, 199). *Height* in the present passage does not denote a *high-place*, i.e. a place of idolatrous worship, a sanctuary of a heathenish cult. Cf. the *heights of the land* in IX, i.
- (6) In the following lines the prophet may have predicted the destruction of the Temple at the hands of the Assyrian invaders (2 K 25, 9-17; also 21, 12-14). This prophecy of Micah may have been suppressed. In the Deuteronomistic passage 1 K 9, 8, the statement *this Temple will become heaps of ruins* has been corrected to *this Temple will be supreme*. Cf. above, p. 14, l. 25.

V

- (1) This poem, which seems to describe the corruption in Judah prior to the destruction of Jerusalem in 586, is a retrospect which may have been applied to the condition of Jerusalem at the beginning of the Maccabean period (168 B.C.) just as the Book of Daniel was not written during the Babylonian Captivity, but during the Syrian Persecution (164 B.C.).* With the arguments used by some OT scholars to determine the date of a text we might just as well prove that Schiller's poem *Hektors Abschied* was written before the fall of Troy (n. 7 on X). A great many Maccabean texts are retrospective (e.g. 1 M 2, 51-61; Pss. 78, 95, 8-11; 105, 106; 135, 8-12; 136, 10-24; 137). The majority of the Psalms are Maccabean (JHUC, No. 163, p. 54^a; AJSL 23, 225, 257; ZDMG 61, 283, l. 24; 287, l. 7; 288, l. 44). See also above, p. 15, l. 6.
- (2) Controversy, lawsuit, cause, complaint, accusation. The same word (*cause*) is used in Ex. 23, 3 (where we must read *great* instead of *poor*; see conclusion of n. 3 on III). Heb. רִיב means *to try to obtain retaliation or redress* (AJSL 26, 19, l. 7).†

*Cf. the remarks on Ps. 137 in OLZ 10, 65, n. 6; 66, n. 10.

†Cf. the second hemistich of VI, v and the Maccabean passage Is. 3, 13-15; see also Is. 1, 18; 43, 26; Jer. 25, 31; Hos. 4, 1; 12, 3; Ps. 50, 7, 8, 21.

(3) The mountains of Judah, especially the mountains round about Jerusalem (Ps. 125, 2). The hill-country of Judah (Josh. 21, 11) is called in Josh. 10, 40; 11, 16 *the mountain*, and in Luke 1, 39 (cf. v. 65) ἡ ὄρεινῃ. Also in Ps. 121 *the hills* denote the hill-country of Judah: *I lift up mine eyes to the hills*=I am anxious to return to the hill-country of Judah.*

(4) The mountains are regarded as the foundations of the land (Ps. 90, 2; Prov. 8, 25, 26; Job 38, 6).

(5) Clemens Brentano says in his poem *Der Schiffer im Kahne: Die Berge drängen sich heran und lauschen meinem Sang*. The whole country is to hear JHVH's charges. Cf. n. 1 on IX, also Hos. 10, 8; Luke 23, 30; Rev. 6, 16.

(6) The Jews. Stanza A is addressed to Judah; stanza B, to Jerusalem. Cf. Is. 5, 3 (AJSL 19, 201).

(7) JHVH accuses Judah of breach of contract. He had made a covenant with His people (Ex. 34, 27). He had promised to be kind to them (Ex. 20, 6; Ps. 103, 17, 18) and to make them superior to all other nations (Deut. 26, 19; 28, 1) if they would love Him and keep His commandments; but they have transgressed His laws. JHVH has performed His part of the agreement. He redeemed them from bondage in Egypt (v. 4^a). He never failed them as long as they kept His commandments. They have no just grievance against Him (v. 3). But they worshiped other gods like their idolatrous cousins (n. 18 on I) of the Northern Kingdom (v. 16). Jerusalem has been the chief offender (v. 9; cf. 1, 13^b). The upper classes of the capital have committed all sorts of outrages (v. 12). They have oppressed and cheated their poorer brethren; they have increased their wealth by means of scant measures, false scales, and false weights (vv. 10, 11). Therefore (Deut. 28, 15, 45; 30, 17, 18; Ps. 106, 40) JHVH allowed the Chaldeans to destroy Jerusalem in 586 B.C. Also the destruction of Jerusalem in 168 B.C. (1 M 1, 31) and the Syrian persecution are the just punishment for the sins of the chosen people (n. 26). At the beginning of the Maccabean period many Jews forsook the holy covenant,† joined the heathen, and sold themselves (like Ahab, 1 K 21, 25; cf. couplet iii) to do mischief (1 M 1, 15).‡

The present poem tries to answer the question, Wherefore has JHVH done thus unto this land? What means the heat of this great anger? (Deut. 29, 23). Why has Jerusalem been destroyed in 586 and 168?|| Why has the Temple been defiled? Why have the chosen people been

*See Dr. Stevens' commentary, AJSL 11, 121. Cf. Ez. 6, 2, 3; 36, 1, 4, 6, 8; and IX, i; also Deut. 32, 1; Is. 1, 2; Jer. 6, 19; 22, 29 (cited in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, 6, 8).

†Cf. Ps. 78, 10, 37, 56; 81, 12; contrast Ps. 81, 15 and 2 M 1, 2-4.

‡See also 1 M 1, 43, 52; 2 M 4, 10-17; 5, 17; 6, 12-16; 7, 32. Contrast Ps. 44, 18-22.

Not only Ps. 137 but also the so-called *Lamentations of Jeremiah* refer to this second destruction of Jerusalem in 168 B.C. (OLZ 10, 63).

deported to Babylonia? Why are they persecuted by the Daughter of Babylon, i.e. the Seleucid kingdom? Cf. 2, 7 (II, aa) and 1 K 9, 8; Jer. 22, 8; also the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, 5, 3; 13, 4. A cuneiform parallel is found in KB 2, 227, 68-72 (*Kings* 121, 14). Cf. also the remarks on Am. 3, 2 (2 M 6, 14) on p. 269 of the paper cited in n. 28 on I.

(8) For *Israel* instead of *Judah* see n. 32 on III.

(9) Have I ever done you any wrong?

(10) Have I ever demanded anything unreasonable? Cf. Is. 43, 22-24.

(11) Or *against Me* (Is. 43, 26). State your objections or counter-charges, if you have any grievances. Have I ever been unjust? Have I ever given you any cause for complaint?

(12) Lit. *the house of servants* (Ex. 13, 3. 14; 20, 2; Jer. 34, 13). See also conclusion of n. 33 on III.

(13) You worshiped idols like the most idolatrous rulers of the Northern Kingdom (n. 18 on I). Cf. 1 K 16, 26. 30-33. Omri is the first king of Israel (about 887-875 B.C.) whose name is found in the cuneiform inscriptions: the Northern Kingdom is called in Assyrian *the land of the House* (n. 19 on I) *of Omri*. He founded the city of Samaria which was regarded by the Jews as a center of idolatry. Samaria means *well-guarded place* (n. 52 on III). The first king of Israel, Jeroboam I (about 930 B.C.) is said to have set up images of a bull, overlaid with gold, in the sanctuaries of Dan and Beth-el. This is *the sin of Jeroboam* which is so often alluded to in the Book of Kings (cf. IX, 8).

(14) Ahab (about 875-853) was the son and successor of Omri. He built a temple of Baal in Samaria. His wife was Jezebel, a daughter of King Ethbaal (Ittobaal) of Tyre. According to 1 K 16, 33 Ahab did more to provoke JHVH to anger than all the kings of Israel that were before him. The daughter of Ahab and Jezebel was Athaliah, the wife of King Jehoram of Judah (2 K 8, 18. 26).†

(15) Their religious and political program; cf. the remarks on Ps. 1 in AJSL 19, 139, n. 31.

(16) The result of this policy was the disgraceful position among the peoples, to which Judah was reduced after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. (Deut. 28, 37; Ez. 36, 15). Also at the beginning of the Maccabean period the condition of the Jews was disgraceful;‡ but when Simon (May, 142 B.C.) triumphantly entered the gates of the Syrian citadel of Jerusalem, the stone which the builders rejected had become the keystone; see Ps. 118, 22 (cf. AJSL 21, 145, n. 43; also n. 11 on VII, and n. 6 on VIII).

*As soon as the wrath of JHVH was turned into mercy, the heathen could not make head against the Jews; see 2 M 8, 5; 1 M 3, 8. Cf. n. 14 on VII.

†EB 2351 states that Jehoram was a son of Jehoshaphat by Athaliah.

‡Cf. 1 M 1, 28. 40; 2 M 1, 27; also Pes. 22, 7; 31, 12; 44, 14; 79, 4; 80, 7; 89, 42. 51; 119, 22.

(17) Jerusalem; cf. n. 6.

(18) Cf. Micah's denunciation in I, i. ii. and II, i-iv; also Nehemiah's rebuke of the nobles (Neh. 5, 7).^{*} At the beginning of the Maccabean period the Jewish aristocracy sympathized with the Syrians; the lower classes were orthodox; see AJSL 26, 21, n. 26 (Ps. 4, 3). Cf. above, p. 15, n. 10.

(19) Lit. *forget*.

(20) Their wealth is not honestly acquired; they have robbed the poor by means of scant measures, false scales, and false weights, although they knew that this was abomination to יהוה (Lev. 19, 35. 36; Deut. 25, 13-16; Ez. 45, 9. 10; Prov. 11, 1; 16, 11; 20, 10).

(21) Execrable; lit. over which people are enraged, which enrages,angers, exasperates them.

(22) Lit. *emaciated, lean*. The Heb. has *ephah of leanness*.

(23) The *ephah* was a dry measure equal to about 77 American pints or 36.44 liters (*Numbers* 44, 11). The corresponding liquid measure was called *bath*=βάτος (Luke 16, 6; cf. Ez. 45, 11).

(24) Lit. *Shall I pronounce her clean* (acquit her) *with* (or *in spite of*) *balances of wickedness*.

(25) Cf. Is. 1, 5-8. The Heb. text has *I will make thee sore and smite thee* (AV, following RT, *I will make thee sick in smiting thee*). This may be a *hysteron-proteron*.

(26) The destruction of Jerusalem is the just punishment for their violation of the covenant with יהוה (cf. n. 7; also n. 13 on IX).

(27) The best part of her population and all her treasures, including the sacred vessels of the Temple, were carried to Babylonia by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K 23, 13-16; 25, 13-21). Also at the beginning of the Maccabean period the good people of Jerusalem were forced to leave the city, the Temple with all its treasures was plundered, *all her ornaments were taken away, her beauty and glory wasted* (1 M 1, 21-23. 38; 2, 9. 11. 12; 2 M 5, 16). The word used for *anything good* in the last hemistich but one (Heb. הֵנָּה, *grace, beauty*) corresponds to καλλονή (and κόσμος) in 1 M 2, 11.

(28) This is an introductory gloss like I, β. δ; but the following couplet may be an illustrative quotation from a poem in which יהוה was invoked to strive with the mountains, *i.e.* to punish the heathen powers which threatened Zion; cf. Ps. 68, 17; (AJSL 23, 230, l. 5). Zech. 4, 7 *the great mountain* denotes the Persian empire. Assur is often called šadû rabû, *the great mountain*. RT has *Up! Strive Thou with the mountains!* †

^{*} See also Is. 3, 14. 15 and Pss. 5, 5-7. 9-11; 10, 7-11; 12, 2-6; 14, 3. 4=53, 4. 5; 17, 14; 26, 9. 10; 27, 2. 12; 28, 3; 49, 6. 7; 52, 9; 55, 10. 12; 62, 11; 71, 4; 73, 12; 74, 20. 21; 82, 3. 4; 94, 5. 6. 21; 109, 2-5; 140, 2-6.

† If this be an illustrative quotation, we need not substitute *before* for *with* (inserting πένε after εἶη). The rendering of the Greek Bible κριθῆναι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη means *Bring suit*

(29) When the hills (i.e. the heathen powers; cf. n. 28) hear Thy voice, their ears will tingle (cf. 1 S 3, 11; 2 K 21, 12; Jer. 19, 3).

(30) That is, *at the head of thee*, as thy leaders; cf. Eccl. 4, 16.

(31) For Moses, which is originally not a proper name, but a common noun meaning *Deliverer*, see the remarks in ZDMG 63, 522, n. 50. Aaron, the elder brother of Moses, was, according to the Priestly Code, the first high-priest (1 M 7, 14). In the original form of the Judaic document of the Hexateuch, Aaron was not mentioned. Aaron may have been regarded by the Israelites (n. 18 on I) as the ancestor of the priests of Beth-el. Cf. the Ephraimitic story of the golden calf in Ex. 32 and the second paragraph of n. 35.

(32) In Ex. 15, 20 Miriam is called a prophetess. She appears there as the leader of the women celebrating the miraculous crossing of the Red Sea (AJSL 20, 152.167, n. 30; ZDMG 63, 529).

(33) Balaak summoned Balaam to curse the Israelites, but יהוה turned his curse into a blessing (Deut. 23, 6; Josh. 24, 9.10; Neh. 13, 2; Num. 22-24; see also ZDMG 63, 506).

(34) This clause, or some similar statement, has dropped out in RT. The omission was due to the repetition of the word *Remember*. Similarly the clause *and the lot fell on the thirteenth day of* has been skipped before *the twelfth, that is, the month Adar* in the gloss Est. 3, 7, owing to the repetition of the phrase *to month*; see Est. 33. In 1 S 14, 41 we must insert before *give Thummim* (AV *a perfect lot*) the words *why hast Thou not responded to Thy servant this day? If it be myself or my son Jonathan, O Jahveh, God of Israel, give Urim; but if it be Thy people Israel* (JBL 19, 58; Numbers 57, 45).

(35) That is, during the miraculous crossing of the Jordan (see p. 362, n. 29 of the paper cited at the conclusion of n. 18 on I). Shittim (i.e. *Acacias*) was the last camp of the Israelites before they crossed the Jordan, and Gilgal (i.e. *Cromlech*) was their first camp in Western Palestine (Josh. 3, 1; 4, 19; Num. 33, 49). Shittim may be the acacia grove in the neighborhood of *Tell el-Kefrên* where the *Wady el-Kefrên* enters the Jordan valley. Gilgal seems to be the present *Tell Jelfâl*, between Jericho and the Jordan, SE of Jericho, N of the *Wady el-Kelt*.*

The *gilgâl* referred to in 1 S 7, 16; 2 K 2, 1; 4, 38; Am. 4, 4; 5, 5; Hos. 4, 15; 9, 15; 12, 12 is the ancient *cromlech* N of Beth-el, the modern

against the mountains, bring them to trial! This verb may be construed with the dative or *πρός*. In the same way we find ἀσπείρεσθαι τινα or πρὸς τινα. Πρὸς τὰ ὄρη cannot mean *before the mountains*. Both *riv*, *to strive* and *niłhām*, *to fight* are often construed in Hebrew with the preposition *eth*. In the same way we find in Assyrian *ittišu amdāxiq* (HW 399b) *I fought with him*; *zenu ittīšu* (AJSL 26, 20, n. 8) *they are angry with him* (*ittu=idtu*, fem. of *idu*, *hand, side*, Heb. *jad*; cf. *Proverbs* 51, 3).

*This *wady* cannot be identified with the Valley of Achor; see the picture facing p. 10 of the translation of *Joshua* in the Polychrome Bible. For the *Babylonish garment* (Josh. 7, 21) see footnote to n. 4 on II.

Bētn, about 10 miles N of Jerusalem; see Bâdeker's *Syrien und Palestina* (1910) p. 201. This is the place where Jacob (n. 17 on I) was supposed to have set up (Gen. 28, 18) the sacred stone-pillar; cf. Gunkel's *Genesis* (1910) p. 322. The top (Heb. *kaphtôr*) of the ancient *maḡḡeváh* beside the altar in the cromlech of Beth-el is mentioned in Am. 9, 1.* The altar was the sacred table on which sacrifice was offered; the *maḡḡeváh* represented the deity (cf. n. 53 on VIII).

(36) Lit. *justifications*; see Jud. 5, 11 and the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 174, l. 16; also AJSL 21, 140, n. 17, and n. 23 on VI.

(37) Lit. *a hissing* (AV) or *whistling*. This does not mean, the people will hiss at them, but they will whistle when they see them. This whistling is equivalent to our interjection *phew* (German *hu*) or to our colloquial *Good gracious! This is pretty bad*. See the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 153, l. 36; cf. Jer. 19, 8; 25, 18; 49, 17; 50, 13; 51, 37; 1 K 9, 8; Zeph. 2, 15; Lam. 2, 15, 16; Ez. 27, 36.

(38) This term (Heb. *maṭṭêh*) denotes here the Jewish Congregation; cf. Jer. 10, 16 and Ps. 74, 2: *the tribe* (Heb. *ševṭ*) of *Thy inheritance*. Judah was originally not a tribe, but a religious association, the league of worshippers of יהוה (ZDMG 63, 506, 516, l. 12; cf. n. 41 on VIII).

(39) This is a late theological gloss; see n. 24 on II. Cf. also Hab. 2, 4.

(40) This couplet is an illustrative quotation; cf. the secondary passage Am. 5, 11; Deut. 28, 38-40; Zeph. 1, 13.

(41) The addition *olives* in gloss *σσ* is correct, but unnecessary; cf. our terms *treader* and *pressman*, and the German *Kelterer*.

(42) Both olives and grapes were originally trodden with the feet in rock-hewn excavations (Greek *ληνός*, Heb. *gath*; cf. n. 22 on III) from which the juice ran through channels into lower troughs (Greek *ὑπολήνιον*, Heb. *yāq v*). Afterwards olives were crushed in special oil-mills. See p. 68 of the translation of *Judges*, in the Polychrome Bible, and EB 3466, 2; 3467, 3; 5311-14; cf. also AJSL 19, 202, n. 6, and the cuts on pp. 144, 145 of Benzinger's *Hebr. Archäologie* (1907).

(42) Anoint thyself with oil; cf. Ruth 3, 3. The omission of anointing was a sign of mourning (Dan. 10, 3). Contrast the beginning of the last section of *Ecclesiastes* (9, 7):

Go, eat thy bread with pleasure,
and drink thy wine with cheer;
And white be all thy garments,
and oil for the head unfailling.

See the explanation of Ps. 23 in AJSL 21, 147, n. 65.

(43) Must or new wine, the unfermented juice pressed from the grapes.

*Has-sippim in the gloss *we-yir'ašš* *has-sippim* denotes the base of the *maḡḡeváh*; cf. p. 186 of the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, and p. 410 of G's *Bibelwörterbuch*.

VI

(1) Jerusalem and Judea (1 M 3, 34) at the beginning of the Macbean period. Cf. also 1 M 2, 7.

(2) Summer-fruit denotes especially figs which ripen in August. In Am. 8, 1 a basket of ripe summer-fruit (Heb. *qáiç*) symbolizes that the people are ripe for the end (Heb. *qéç*). Heb. *qáiç* means both *summer* and *summer-fruit*. Also *thépos* has both meanings.

(3) The gleanings of the vineyards were left for the poor (orphans and widows) and for the stranger (Lev. 19, 10; Deut. 24, 21). The vintage took place in September. The name of the month *Elul* (September) means (grape-) *harvest* (*ὁ καιρὸς τῶν καρπῶν*. Matt. 21, 34).^{*} Both *Elul* and the Heb. term for *gleaning* (*‘ólélûth*) are derived from the same stem. *Elul* is a Babylonian loanword. The Sumerian name of the month of *Adar* (March) is *grain-harvest month*.[†] March was the beginning of the grain-harvest (Deut. 16, 9) in Babylonia. *Adar* corresponds to the Feast of Unleavened Bread;[‡] and *Elul*, to the Feast of Tabernacles.|| For the original dates of these festivals see AJSL 26, 224, n. *. *Elul* was the sixth month of the Babylonian calendar; and *Adar*, the twelfth. The name *Adar* is connected with the Babylonian loan-word *iddar*, *threshing-floor* (Dan. 2, 35). The correct spelling is *Addar* with *dd*; initial *a* often becomes *i* in Assyrian, e.g. *irçitu*, *earth* for *arçatu*. The original form of *iddar* is *hiddar*, from *hádár*, *to go round*.§ The threshing-floor is circular; oxen are driven round till the grain is trampled out by their hoofs; or threshing-sledges were used for this purpose (EB 83). Cf. n. 45 on III and my paper on *Adar* and *Elul* in ZDMG 64, part 3.

(4) The gleaners at the vintage find no grapes fit to eat, nor have the gatherers of summer-fruit (n. 2) any early figs which would tempt their

^{*}Cf. the name *Vendémiaire*, i.e. the first month in the calendar of the first French republic, which began at the midnight preceding the true vernal equinox (Sept. 22). See *Pur.* 4, 4.

[†]Cf. the name *Messidor*, i.e. the tenth month in the calendar of the first French republic (June 19-July 18). The exact meaning of the Sumerian name of the *Addar*, *iti-še-kin-ku* (or *gāš*) is *threshing month*. The Assyrian equivalent of Sumer. *gāš* is *šabāru*, *to thresh*, i.e. *to beat out the grains with a rod* (Assyr. *šibirru*). Cf. Jud. 6, 11; Ruth 2, 17; Is. 27, 12; 28, 27 (JHUC, No. 163, p. 89b). The ideograms for *šibirru*, *rod*, *flail* and *ebāru*, *grain*, *crop* are variations of the same character. Another Sumerian word for *šabāru*, *to thresh* is *gigi*, lit. *to cane*, i.e. *to beat* (cf. French *battre*, *to thresh*) *with a rod*. Our *cane* is derived from the Sumerian *gin* or *gi*, *reed*, *cane*; cf. AJSL 24, 109, below; 26, 20, n. 7. The Assyrian word for *to mow* is *šakaku*. It is a privative (AJSL 22, 251; 26, 241, n. *) derived from *šikka* *tu*, *point*, and means literally *to crop*, i.e. *to cut off the heads of wheat* (Job 24, 24).

[‡]That is, bread from the new grain, without any leaven from the old grain; see *Pur.* 2, 24 and the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 199, l. 23.

||The Feast of Tabernacles was an old Canaanitish vintage festival, during which the people lived in the vineyards, in huts made of boughs; see *Pur.* 2, 19; cf. the translation of *Judges*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 41, ll. 23-30; p. 97, l. 23.

§Cf. *adāru*, *enclosure*, and *idirtu*, *trouble*, lit. *surrounding*, *hemming in*.

appetite (n. 6). Everything is overripe and more or less rotten. Similarly the conditions in Jerusalem and Judea are rotten: there are no desirable persons left. The gatherers of summer-fruit are not overparticular, nor do the gleaners at the vintage expect to find choice grapes; but even if a low standard be applied, the people in Jerusalem and Judea do not come up to the mark.

(5) Fit to eat.

(6) An early fig has a fine flavor and is tempting; as soon as a man sees it, he swallows it (Is. 28, 4).^{*} The ancestors of the Jews were like early figs (Hos. 9, 10). But their epigones who are now left in Jerusalem and Judea are very naughty figs which cannot be eaten (Jer. 24, 2). The early figs ripen in June (BL 104, n. 11).[†]

(7) Lit. (which) *my soul* (i.e. *appetite*) *desires*; which is appetizing, tempting.

(8) Cf. 1 M 1, 38; 2, 28. 29. 43; 3, 45. Pss. 12, 2; 14, 1-3 (=53, 2-4). See also n. 18 on V.

(9) Cf. 1 M 1, 36. 37. 57. 60; also Prov. 1, 11; Pss. 59, 3. 4; 56, 7; 71, 10.

(10) Cf. Lam. 3, 52; 1 M 1, 56; see also n. 14.

(11) Lit. *prince*, *commander*, i.e. the chief representative of the King of Syria, e.g. Apollonius whom Antiochus Epiphanes sent to Jerusalem in 168 B.C. (1 M 1, 29; 2 M 5, 24) or Lysias (1 M 3, 32) or Bacchides (1 M 7, 8).

(12) He extorts money, expects bribes, &c (cf. Is. 1, 23; 5, 23; 33, 15; Pss. 15, 5; 26, 10; see also *Pur.* 6, 12).

(13) His decrees are not lawful, but arbitrary. He breaks his solemn promises (1 M 1, 30; 6, 62; 7, 16. 18).

(14) The officers of the King of Syria, especially his spies who hunted for copies of the Law or for Jews who had circumcised their children (cf. 1 M 1, 51. 57. 60; 2, 15. 31; also AJSL 23, 232, nn. 35. 36; see also n. 40).

(15) The good people among the Jews who chose rather to die than to profane the holy covenant (n. 7 on V). See 1 M 1, 63; 2 M 6, 19; 7, 2.

(16) The upright Jews.

(17) In spite of our present condition, which is indeed desperate, I am confident that JHVH will help His people. Cf. 1 M 1, 62; 2, 61.

(18) The Syrians and the Hellenizing Jews who sympathized with them.

(19) The calamity of the Syrian persecution; cf. v. 4 of Ps. 23, (which was written about the beginning of 165 B.C.): *Though I walk through a glen of gloom, I fear no harm* (AJSL 21, 137). See also Lam. 3, 2. 6.

^{*}Fresh fruit is called in Arabic *nāu'ah*, from *nā'a*, *janā'u*, *to desire* (*ṭālabā*). The common expression for *fruit*, *fākihah* (pl. *fayākīh*) means *cheering*.

[†]For *grossi*, *forniti*, *cratiri* (cf. TLZ 33, 407) see Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*, fifth edition, vol. 6 (Leipzig, 1894) p. 418^a, below; sixth edition, vol. 6 (Leipzig, 1904) p. 347^b (*grossi*, *fornites* or *mammoni*, *cratitires* or *mamme*).

(20) The Syrian persecution; cf. 1 M 1, 64; 2, 49; 2 M 5, 17; see also Lam. 2, 21, 22; Is. 10, 25, and Ps. 76, 11 (n. 13 on VII).

(21) Until He redresses the injuries which the Syrians have inflicted upon us (n. 2 on V).

(22) He will restore our former happiness.

(23) Lit. *righteousness* or *justification* (n. 36 on V).

(24) Cf. Pss. 70, 3; 71, 13.

(25) Cf. Pss. 42, 4, 11; 71, 11; 79, 10; 115, 2; Joel 2, 17; 2 M 1, 27.

(26) We shall see their overthrow with grim satisfaction (cf. Pss. 54, 9; 59, 11; 92, 12; 112, 8).

(27) Jerusalem. In the first two stanzas Jerusalem speaks; but the third stanza is addressed to Jerusalem.

(28) The walls of Jerusalem were destroyed by Apollonius in 168 B.C.* Jerusalem was rebuilt by Judas Maccabæus' younger brother and successor, Jonathan (1 M 10, 10, 11; also 4, 60).

(29) The Jews outside of Palestine. As long as Jerusalem was destroyed, the Temple defiled, they could not think of making pilgrimages to Jerusalem to attend the annual feasts (EB 3600, 17; 1114, 16). There were large Jewish settlements in Babylonia, Assyria, Media, Persia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Phenicia, Arabia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Cyrenaica, also in Greece and Italy. According to Josephus the number of persons assembled at the Passover in Jerusalem about 65 A.D. amounted to more than two millions and a half (GJV 3, 149). This estimate may be exaggerated, but the concourse of Jews outside Palestine who came to Jerusalem was no doubt immense. The present passage does not express the hope that the Jews of the Dispersion will return to Jerusalem and settle there forever. (As)syria and Egypt represent the *orbis terrarum* (ἡ οἰκουμένη). Cf. 1 M 1, 16; 3, 32; 11, 13.

(30) The Euphrates. Cf. Ps. 89, 26 (*the rivers* is intensive plural for *the great river*, i.e. the Euphrates; see OLZ 10, 65, n. 1).†

(31) From the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf.

(32) The poet may have thought of the mountains of Armenia (Gen. 8, 4) and Ethiopia (GJV 3, 25).

(33) Not only Jews of various nationalities, but also gentiles (1 M 10, 40; 2 M 3, 2).

(34) The courts of the Temple. The last two hemistichs of couplet viii, which have dropped out in RT, have been restored on the basis of Ps. 96, 7^a. 8^b; cf. Ps. 68, 30, 32 (AJSL 23, 224) and Ps. 76, 13^a (ZDMG 61, 287). See also the Maccabean chapter Is. 60.

(35) They will be scattered and expelled from Judea. According to 1 M 14, 14 Simon took away every contemner of the Law and wicked

*See 1 M 1, 31; also 6, 62; 9, 54; 10, 45; 12, 36; 13, 33; 16, 23; cf. Pss. 80, 13; 89, 41; 102, 14-17; 147, 2; Lam. 2, 5-9.

†See also Is. 27, 12, 13; Ez. 34, 13; Zech. 10, 10; Ps. 107, 3.

person. Cf. 1 M 3, 8; 9, 73; Ps. 37, 9. 22 (AJSL 19, 142). These first two hemistichs of couplet ix have been supplied from Ps. 92, 10. We might substitute also Ps. 37, 29. 38 (cf. conclusion of n. 16 on VII).

(36) Palestine (cf. n. 16 on VIII).

(37) Cf. Is. 30, 22; Ez. 20, 43; 36, 31. The translation *The land will be desolate because of them that dwell therein* is erroneous (contrast Is. 13, 9).*

(38) No Syrians or Hellenizing Jews will be tolerated. The people will all be righteous (Is. 60, 21) *i.e.* orthodox (*Eccl.* 35, n. 1). The whole country will shudder at the thought that the former conditions might prevail again. Cf. also 1 M 1, 28.

(39) Cf. Pss. 9, 16; 35, 7.

(40) These four lines are an illustrative quotation; they are quoted also by Jesus in Matt. 10, 35. 36; Luke 12, 53. At the beginning of the Maccabean period the country was full of Syrian spies (n. 14). Men could not trust their friends (Pss. 41, 10; 55, 14) or even their nearest relatives. It may often have happened that the father of a family was an orthodox Jew, while his wife and his children sympathized with the Syrians and Hellenic culture. Compare, on the other hand, GJV 3, 154, n. 20. Also Herod the Great (37-4 B.C.) employed a great many spies (*Eccl.* 40, n. 28).

(41) Lit. *in thy lap* or *at thy hip*; the Heb. word denotes the *hypo-gastric* (or pubic) *region*, the privy parts. The rendering *at thy bosom* may be retained as a euphemism (cf. our phrase *to take to one's bosom* = to marry).

(42) Do not curse the king and his officers even in your bedchamber. Cf. *Eccl.* 10, 20 (AJSL 26, 21, n. 28):

Not even in bed curse thou the king,
Nor in thy chamber curse one in power.

(43) His servants (cf. Gen. 39, 14; 17, 23. 27; Job. 19, 15).

(44) Cf. Ps. 56, 6; 1 M 1, 9.

(45) Cf. the third line of Lam. 1, 21; also Jer. 46, 10; Is. 13, 6; Joel. 1, 15.

(46) Cf. Ps. 18, 43; Is. 10, 6.

VII

(1) Cf. the second line of Ps. 23, 4; see n. 19 on VI and AJSL 21, 137, n. 107. Cf. also Ps. 80, 2 and the gloss *the shepherd* in Gen. 49, 24.

(2) This flock (*i.e.* the chosen people) is JHVH's special property which

* We must read *lš-šō mēmah*, *i.e.* the fem. participle with prefixed emphatic *lš* (*Est.* 56, l. 5). Cf. Ez. 5, 15; 7, 27; 32, 10; Dan. 8, 27; Ps. 143, 4; Lam. 1, 16; Job 17, 8; 18, 20; 21, 5 (read *hššām māt*). Nor does *šiqqūc mēšō mēm* (Dan. 11, 31) mean *the abomination that maketh desolate* or *the abomination of desolation* (1 M 1, 54) but *the appalling* (horrific) *abomination*. Ezr. 9, 3. 4 we must read *mēšō mām* instead of *mēšō mēm*; so too, Ez. 3, 15.

He redeemed in Egypt; cf. Deut. 9, 26, 29; 4, 20; 2 M 14, 15; also Pss. 28, 9; 78, 62, 71; 74, 1, 2; 79, 13; 95, 7; 100, 3. See also nn. 35, 36 on VIII.

(3) The neighborhood of Jerusalem is less fertile than the districts surrounding the Judean territory. The Judean table-land is a stony, desolate region (EB 2622). For Bush (or uncultivated region) and Garden (or cultivated region) cf. Is. 32, 15; 29, 17; Hos. 2, 12 (Heb. 14). Jerusalem is situated in a badly-watered district (EB 2416, 14; 2411, 5). There is no spring near the city except the Virgin's Spring ('*Ain Sitt Bedriya*). The country E of the Jordan, also Galilee, Samaria,* and the Shephelah (n. 15 on I) are much more fertile. The region S of Jerusalem† was, at the beginning of the Maccabean period, in the hands of the Edomites. Hebron, whose environs are very fertile, was the capital of the Edomites. Cf. 1 M 5, 65 and the remarks on Ps. 60 on p. 281 and p. 278, n. 1 of the paper cited at the end of n. 41 on III.

(4) Bashan is the northernmost region of the country E of the Jordan, SE of Mount Hermon (cf. footnote † to n. 24 on VIII). It corresponds approximately to the modern Ḥaurān. Its capital was Boṣra (AJSL 23, 228, n. 15). Gilead is the region E of the Jordan between the Yarmūk (near the southern end of the Sea of Galilee) and the Arnon (BL 81, n. 5). The Jews who lived among the heathen in Bashan and Gilead at the beginning of the Maccabean period were rescued and transferred to Jerusalem by Judas Maccabæus (and his younger brother Jonathan) in 164 B.C. His triumphant return from this victorious expedition is glorified in Ps. 68 (AJSL 23, 225). At the same time Judas' elder brother Simon delivered the Jews who lived in Galilee. See 1 M 5, 9-17, 23, 45 and my paper *The Aryan† Ancestry of Jesus in The Open Court* (Chicago, April, 1909) p. 3 (cf. the conclusion of n. 21 on VIII). For the re-occupation of Bashan and Gilead cf. Jer. 50, 19; Zech. 10, 10; Ob. 19, 20 (see n. 22 on VIII).

(5) According to Deut. 3, 12, 13 Bashan was occupied by the half-tribe of Manasseh, while Gilead fell to the possession of the Reubenites and the Gadites.

(6) We shall not be able to recover our former possessions (cf. Am. 9, 12 and footnote ** to n. 32 on VIII) unless Thou art our help (1 M 3, 53) and performest a number of miracles as in the days of the wonderful exodus from Egypt (cf. Pss. 78, 11-16; 105, 27-41; 106, 7-11). The success of the Maccabees was indeed marvelous.

*The old name Ephraim means *fertile region*.

†More accurately, S of Bethsura (1 M 4, 61). This is the small town alluded to in Eccl. 9, 14 (Eccl. 42, n. 6). Bethsura is 4¼ miles N of Hebron.

‡For the question whether or not there was an Aryan race, alluded to in n. 17 of that paper, cf. now Winkler's remarks on the Aryans in the tablets of Boghaz-köi (OLZ 13, 291, l. 8; 301, l. 6). Contrast GB xv, l. 2.

(7) The Syrians and the other tribes who wanted to exterminate the Jews (see 1 M 3, 25; 5, 1, 2; cf. n. 41 on III).

(8) Lit. *they will be disappointed by their power*. The renderings *they will be confounded at all their might* and *they will despair of all their power* are unwarranted. The translators of AV might have said *they will be failed* (not *foiled*!) *by their power*.*

(9) They will be dumfounded (struck dumb and deaf) by the wonderful success of the Maccabees (cf. 1 M 3, 25). For the phrase *They will lay their hand upon their mouth* cf. Job 21, 5; 29, 9; 40, 4; Jud. 18, 19; also Is. 52, 15; Job 5, 16; Ps. 107, 42.

(10) They will be utterly humiliated. Cf. Ps. 72, 9; Is. 49, 23; also the translation of Ps. 45 (couplet iv) in Eccl. 37.

(11) Even the last outpost of the Syrians, the citadel in Jerusalem, surrendered in May, 142. Simon's triumphal entrance in the Acra is glorified in Ps. 118 (n. 16 on V). Cf. also Ps. 18, 46 and n. 51 on VIII.

(12) What are the Greek gods compared with Thee! A Maccabean poet says at the beginning of Ps. 16 (which was composed about 167 B.C.):

Inferior to Thee are the gods of the land
And all superb ones in whom they delight.

See AJSL 20, 172; Pur. 47, n. 135.†

(13) The Maccabees are the remnant of the chosen people (n. 2). The ten tribes are lost. The majority of the Jews are scattered all over the world. Thousands of the faithful in Jerusalem had been slain or sold as slaves at the beginning of the Syrian persecution.‡ In Ps. 76, 11 the Maccabees are called *the remnant of the great wrath* (ZDMG 61, 286, l. 32; cf. n. 20 on VI, and n. 8 on VIII).

(14) Cf. Ps. 103, 9. As soon as the Jews keep His commandments and worship no other gods, His wrath will be turned into mercy, and then the heathen will not be able to withstand the Jews (p. 33, n. *).

(15) Not *tread down* or *subdue*; the sins are not personified as enemies. Cf. Ps. 51, 2 (Heb. 4) and Acts 22, 16. Also *kippér*, *to atone* means originally *to wipe off* (BL 128).

(16) In RT this couplet ends with the hemistich *He will wash off our guilt*. In order to offset this ominous conclusion *our guilt*, couplet vii was added as a euphemistic liturgical appendix. If No. VI had not been combined in RT with No. VII, it would, perhaps, also have been provided with a similar conclusion. In certain Books (e.g. Eccl.) the last verse but one is repeated, because the final verse was considered ominous. Cf. the remarks on the final couplet of the Maccabean talis-

*The phrase *αἰσχυνοῦνται ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτῶν* (1 M 4, 31) means *Let them be disgraced in spite of their power*.

†Cf. also Pss. 71, 19; 77, 14; 86, 8; 89, 7-9; Jer. 10, 6; 2 S 7, 22; Ex. 15, 11 (AJSL 20, 161).

‡Cf. 1 M 1, 30, 32, 37, 57, 60; 2, 9, 38; 5, 2; 2 M 5, 14, 24; 6, 10; 8, 4, 34.

man Ps. 91 on p. 282 (n. 17) of the paper cited at the end of n. 41 on III. Some distinguished commentators think that couplet vi should be appended to the final couplet of VI. It is true that four hemistichs are wanting at the end of VI, but they must be inserted before v. 13 (see nn. 34. 35 on VI).

(17) The Jews (see n. 17 on I).

(18) Abraham was originally a local deity of Hebron (n. 17 on I) but was revered by the post-Exilic Jews as their greatest ancestor.* For Is. 51, 1. 2 see AJSL 23, 234. In the Priestly Code of the Hexateuch Abraham figures as a model of Jewish piety. In Arabic he is called al-Khalil, *the Friend of God* (Is. 41, 8; 2 Chr. 20, 7; Jas. 2, 23). This is also the Arabic name of Hebron.

(19) Cf. n. 7 on V; also Gen. 22, 17; 28, 14; Ps. 105, 42; 1 M 2, 50, 4, 10.

(20) This is a variant to the last two hemistichs of vi, in which the third person is replaced by the second person as we find it in the liturgical appendix (n. 16).

VIII

(1) This poem may have been composed at the beginning of the reign of John Hyrcanus † (135–104 B.C.). The Book of Esther was written about the same time (*Pur.* 3, 1). In RT section B (triplets v–viii) precedes section A. Similarly the first section of Joel's ancient poem on the locusts appears in c. 2 of RT, while the second section is contained in c. 1. Section B has been appended at the end of the first three chapters containing the genuine prophecies of Micah in order to blunt the edge of the too keen prediction in 3, 12 (cf. conclusion of n. 6 on IV). The first three triplets of section B have been prefixed also to the first prophecy of Isaiah (see the translation of *Isaiah*, in the Polychrome Bible, pp. 1. 18. 132. 147). They may have been inserted there by an editor in the first century B.C. The quotation in the Book of Isaiah is less correct than the original text in the Maccabean appendix to the Book of Micah.

(2) The speaker is not ЯНУ (cf. the last hemistich but one of i, and the third hemistich of ii; also n. 5 on II; contrast nn. 33. 34) but one of the Maccabean leaders. This poem may have been written under the reign of John Hyrcanus (n. 1) but it may have been attributed to his father Simon or to his uncles Judas Maccabæus and Jonathan; cf. the lines ascribed to Mattathias in 1 M 2, 8–12, or the addresses in 1 M 1, 19–22. 49–68; 3, 18–22. 58–60; 4, 8–11. 30–33, &c.

(3) Lit. *she who halts* (or *lags behind*) and *she who is driven* (or *drawn*) *away* (or *has gone astray*). These are feminine collectives

*Cf. Ps. 105, 6. 9. 42; 1 M 12, 21; Matt. 3, 9; Luke 16, 24. 30; 19. 9; John 8, 39. 40. 53. 56; Acts 7, 2; 13, 26; Rom. 4, 1. 16 (EB 24).

†For the name *Hyrcanus* see *Est.* 28, below.

equivalent to those who halt and stray (cf. also Zeph. 3, 19 and Ez. 34, 16). Originally the word for *strays* denotes an *estrays*, i.e. an animal which has strayed from the inclosure of its owner (AJSL 19, 142) and the primary meaning of the term for *straggler* is an animal which halts and lags behind.

The *strays* are the Jewish apostates at the beginning of the Maccabean period (AJSL 19, 139, n. 32) who had been *drawn away* (Deut. 4, 19; 30, 17) from Judaism, whereas the *stragglers* (lit. *halters* or *limpers*) are the Jews who halted between Judaism and Hellenism; they hesitated to join the Maccabees; cf. Ps. 119, 113 (where RV renders *I hate them that are of a double mind*) and 1 K 18, 21: *How long will ye halt between* (lit. *limp toward*) *the two branches* (sections, sects) i.e. the worship of JHWH and the worship of Baal.

The poem 1 M 3, 9 says of Judas Maccabæus that he gathered the strays, *συνήγαγεν ἀπολλυμένους*. The Greek Bible has *ἀπολλόμενοι* for both *ōbdīm* and *niddaḥīm* in the Maccabean passage Is. 27, 13; cf. conclusion of n. 5 and the prayer in 2 M 1, 27: *ἐπισυνάγαγε τὴν διασπορὰν* (cf. Ps. 147, 2) *ἡμῶν ἐλευθέρωσον τοὺς δουλεύοντας ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*. Also the Jews in Gilead and Galilee, whom Judas Maccabæus and Simon transferred to Jerusalem in B.C. 164, were *stragglers and strays*; some of them were unwilling to return to the fold; cf. n. 4 on VII, and Ps. 68, 19. 7 (AJSL 23, 231). Many of the Jews of the Dispersion had gone astray, because they lived in contact with the heathen (AJSL 23, 231, n. 29).

(4) The Maccabean leaders had dealt severely with the Jewish apostates (1 M 3, 8; 7, 24; 9, 73; 14, 14) but repentant sinners (i.e. traitors; AJSL 26, 21, n. 27) were no doubt received again into the fold.

(5) Even the lukewarm (Rev. 3, 15) Jews will join the ardent and enthusiastic remnant of the chosen people who have survived the Syrian persecution (cf. n. 8, also n. 13 on VII, and the Maccabean passages Is. 10, 20-23; 11, 11-16; 28, 5. 6).

(6) At the beginning of the Maccabean period Judah was utterly exhausted; in fact she was *in extremis*; cf. v. 8 of the Maccabean psalm in Jon. 2 (AJSL 23, 257). Under the reign of Simon, however, the Jews became a powerful nation; they practically held the balance of power (cf. 1 M 11, 43) in Syria: the stone which the builders rejected became the keystone (n. 16 on V).

(7) JHWH (not Zeus, referred to in Dan. 11, 39 as the *appalling abomination*; p. 40, n. *) will reign on Mount Zion. The Temple has been rededicated in Dec. 165, and no one will ever dare to interfere with the worship of JHWH (1 M 6, 59; 2 M 11, 25. 31). At the end of Ps. 23, which was composed prior to the Rededication, the Maccabean poet says, *I shall return to Jahveh's Temple for ever and ay*; cf. AJSL 21, 134. 137. The rulers of the Jews were JHWH's theocratic viceroys,* the Has-

* Cf. the comments on Ps. 2 in JHUC, No. 163, p. 90.

monean high-priests Jonathan, Simon, John Hyrcanus, &c. Cf. also Is. 24, 23; Pss. 47, 7; 96, 10.

(8) The orthodox Jews who have survived the Syrian persecution (see n. 5, and n. 17 on I). Cf. also the *remnant of Jerusalem* (τὸ κατάλοιπον Ἱερουσαλήμ) in 1 M 3, 35. Simon was left alone of all his brothers who had been slain for Israel's sake (1 M 13, 4). There is no eschatological mystery (EB 1350) about the term *remnant* in this connection (cf. nn. 23, 63).

(9) The gentile tribes of Palestine; cf. n. 41 on III, and n. 1 on IX, also the beginning of Ps. 2 which glorifies the coronation (104 B.C.) of John Hyrcanus' son and successor Aristobulus (see JHUC, No. 163, p. 91*; TOCR 1, 269; cf. below, n. 39).

(10) They will be a powerful nation (n. 6) guided exclusively by JHVH; cf. vv. 6-12 of Ps. 118 which glorifies Simon's triumphal entrance (May, 142 B.C.) in the Acra of Jerusalem (n. 16 on V). The sentiment of the Maccabean poet, *It is better to flee to Jahveh | than put reliance on man* (Ps. 118, 8; cf. 146, 3; Jer. 17, 5) is found also in one of the cuneiform oracles of the goddess Istar to Esarhaddon: *ina eli amelûti lâ tatâkil, mutux* inâka ana âši, dugul-ânni, Trust not in man, set thine eyes on Me, look to Me*; see my paper in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (Leipzig, 1902) p. 61. The Maccabees believed that *power (mastery) comes from heaven* (1 M 3, 19; 12, 15).

The point of comparison is not only the large number of the dew-drops (cf. *powerful*, or *numerous nation* in the fourth hemistich of triplet i) as in Ps. 110, 3 (JHUC, No. 114, p. 110^b) and 2 S 17, 12, or the beneficial effect of the shower as in the Ptolemaic psalm 72, 6, but the heavenly origin irrespective of human agencies (Matt. 6, 26-34).† For Ps. 110, which refers to the rebellion (about 516 B.C.) of the Davidic prince Zerubbabel, see AJSL 21, 145; 23, 232; cf. below, n. 45. For Ps. 72, which glorifies the appointment (285 B.C.) of Ptolemy Philadelphus as co-regent of his father, cf. ZAT 29, 286, below.

(11) See n. 3 on VII.

(12) The power which comes from heaven (n. 10) will make the Maccabees as strong as lions (2 S 1, 23; Num. 23, 24; 24, 9). They will be as irresistible as a lionel‡ which breaks into a sheepfold. The Maccabean poem 1 M 3, 4 says of Judas Maccabæus: *In his acts he was like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey*. In 2 M 10, 35 the

*Assyr. *matâxu* is the Syriac *mêtâx*, to stretch out, hold out. Syr. *mêtâx xâura* or *xêjâra*, to direct the gaze has about the same meaning as *afni* (or *arim*, *sâm. têla*) *xêjâra*. There is no connection between Syr. *mêtâx* and Assyr. *mašâxu*, to measure; see Numbers 32, 24. Syr. *xâr*, to look is the Assyr. *xâru*, *ixîru*, Arab, *ixtâra*.

†In Matt. 6, 27 *ἡλικία* means *stature*, not *span of life*.

‡For the etymology of the Heb. word for *lionel* see BL 127, below.

courage of twenty young men of Judas Maccabæus' company, who assaulted the wall of Gazara (*i.e.* Gezer, now known as *Tell Jezer*, SW of Ramleh, E of the railroad from Joppa to Jerusalem) and killed all that they met, is called *θηριώδης* (cf. also 2 M 12, 15). When Lysias (n. 11 on VI) besieged Bethsura (cf. footnote to n. 3 on VII) the Maccabees charged their enemies *like lions* (2 M 11, 11).

The meaning of triplets ii and iii is not that the Jews will be as refreshing and beneficial for the nations round about as the dew or a shower, that they will be the leaven (Matt. 13, 33) which leavens the whole lump, *a blessing in the midst of the earth* (Is. 19, 24) but if they are interfered with, they will be as fierce as lions. This interpretation is unwarranted. Also the reading proposed in EB 1096, above, is gratuitous. Contrast second paragraph of n. 10.

(13) Breaks into a sheepfold by leaping over the inclosure. The Hebrew verb means *to pass over, to pass through, to enter*; cf. III, ρ. AV uses *to break up* in Ex. 22, 2; Matt. 24, 43. The sheepfolds were surrounded by walls; cf. John 10, 1. The stone wall is about nine feet high.

(14) Not *treads down*, but *strikes* the sheep *down* with the forefoot, deals them a blow with his paw.

(15) Cf. Gen. 49, 27; Ez. 22, 25. 27; Ps. 22, 14 (AJSL 23, 232, n. 36).

(16) The poet apostrophizes Jacob (n. 17 on I) = Judea or Palestine, not the Seleucid Kingdom, as in Nah. 3, 5. 6. 18. 19; 2, 14 (Nah. 10. 12. 15) and Ps. 137, 8 (OLZ 10, 65). *Thy horses and chariots* = the horses and chariots which are sent against thee; *thy witchcraft* = the witchcraft which is tempting thee.* Cf. also nn. 36. 38 on VI. It would be clearer if we read *their* horses, *their* chariots, *their* witchcraft, but this change is not necessary; cf. critical notes on VIII, δ; V, ε (AJSL 26, 234. 222). See also n. 50.

(17) Cf. the Maccabean passage Zech. 9, 10. 8 (which is later than the present poem): *I will cut off chariots from Ephraim, and horses from Jerusalem . . . no oppressor shall pass through them any more* (cf. Nah. 2, 1; Nah. 10, below) . . . *thy King will command peace to the nations*; cf. n. 30.

The horsemen of the Syrians and other gentiles are often referred to in the Books of the Maccabees (2 M 10, 24; 11, 2. 11; 12, 10. 20. 23; 13, 2; 15, 20; 1 M 4, 7. 31; also 1, 17; 3, 39). In Ps. 68, 18 we must read: *The thousands of God (the Maccabees) have prevailed over the ten thousands of the enemies' riders*; see AJSL 23, 230, n. 24.

The Maccabees had no horses and chariots. In 2 M 12, 35 it is mentioned as something exceptional that a Maccabean soldier, who attempted to take the governor of Idumea prisoner, was on horseback. A later Maccabean poet says (Ps. 20, 8):

*The suffix for *thy* must be explained as *genetivus objectivus*; see GK §§ 128, h; 135, m.

Some prevail* through chariots, and some through horses,
But we through the name of JHVH, our God.

Cf. Deut. 20, 1; Is. 31, 1. The region around Jerusalem was unsuitable for horses and chariots.† The Hebrews used mules or asses for riding purposes.‡ Horses and chariots were foreign importations (EB 726; cf. Is. 2, 7; Hos. 14, 4) both in Judah and Ephraim. According to Gen. 32, 16 Jacob had goats, sheep, camels, cattle, and asses, but no horses (ZDMG 63, 527, l. 20). In the earliest law-book (sefr-hab-bērith; ZDMG 63, 516, l. 20) there is no reference to the horse (contrast Ex. 21, 33, 37; 22, 3. 8. 9. 29; 23, 4. 12). Nor is it mentioned in the tenth commandment (Ex. 20, 17).|| According to Josh. 11, 9 Joshua hamstrung the horses of the King of Hazor and his allies, and burned their chariots. David hocked all the chariot-horses he had captured from the King of Zobah; he kept only one hundred (2 S 8, 4; ZAT 29, 282, n. 1). Solomon is said to have had 4,000§ mares** for his 1,400 chariots,†† and 12,000 saddle horses; see 1 K 4, 26 (Heb. 5, 6) and 10, 26; cf. 2 Chr. 1, 14; 9, 25. But the horses had to be imported from Egypt (*Kings* 120, 24. 31. 33) and Deut. 17, 16 advises the king not to multiply horses.

(18) According to 2 M 13, 2 Lysias (n. 12) had 300 chariots armed with scythes (ἀρματα δρεπανηφόρα). The chariots of the gentiles are mentioned also in the Maccabean song of derision upon Antiochus Epiphanes (not Sennacherib; cf. above, p. 14, n. 4, and *Nah.* 1) in Is. 37, 24 (*Kings* 278, 28) and in the Maccabean psalms 20, 8; †† 46, 10; 76, 7 (n. 13 on VII) also in the Maccabean appendix *Nah.* 2, 13 (Heb. 14) where *her* or rather *thy chariots* (rikbék) must not be replaced by *thy lodge* (ribcék). Contrast *Nah.* 15. 48; ZDMG 61, 283, l. 7.

(19) The charms and allurements of Hellenic culture including the worship of the Greek gods. In *Nah.* 3, 4 the Seleucidan kingdom with its Hellenic culture is called a *bewitching seductress*, lit. *a mistress of witchcrafts* (cf. *Nah.* 10; ZDMG 61, 279, l. 21; also 1 M 1, 13–15; 2, 18; 2 M 4, 10–20). In 2 K 9, 22 Jehu applies the same terms (*harlotry* and *witchcraft*) to Jezebel's preference for Phœnician religion and culture. Cf. also the Maccabean poem Is. 47, 9. 12. For *Daughter of Babylon*

*We must read niḡbār instead of nazkīr; cf. Ex. 17, 11 and the emended text of Ps. 68, 18 quoted at the end of the preceding paragraph.

†Cf. also Josh. 17, 16. 18; Jud. 1, 19; 1 K 20, 23. 25.

‡Cf. Jud. 10, 4; 12, 14; 2 S 13, 29; 18, 9; contrast 1 K 1, 5; 2 S 15, 1.

||For the date of the Decalogue cf. n. 1 on II.

§We must read 4,000 instead of 40,000; see *Kings* 80, 38.

**The Greek Bible has τοκάδες ἵπποι or θήλειαι ἵπποι. Heb. ṯrōth (not urḡōth)=Assyr. ṯrāti, *mares*, which is connected with Heb. 'āṣr, *coll of an ass*. See my paper on immeru, *sheep* and uru, *horse* in ZDMG 64, part 4.

††Cf. *the mares in Pharaoh's chariots*, Cant. 1, 9 (Cant. 68, BL 85).

‡‡Cf. the quotation in the preceding note.

(Is. 47, 1) = Seleucid Kingdom see n. 49. For Is. 47, 3 cf. Nah. 3, 5 (Nah. 10).

(20) The Greek diviners practiced augury and haruspicy, they observed the cries and flights of birds, inspected the entrails of animals, &c (JBL 19, 56. 71). The Heb. term *mē'ōnén* is derived from 'ain, *eye* (cf. *bōnén*, from *bīn*, &c) and means *eying, gazing, inspecting*. Cf. Arab. *mu'ājanah*, *eying, inspection, autopsy*.

Isaiah (2, 6) says that his people are full of diviners like the Philistines (1 S 6, 2; 2 K 1, 2). The Philistines (on the Mediterranean coast between Carmel and Gaza) were European invaders who came to Canaan from Crete* in the 12th cent. B.C. They adopted the language of Canaan,† but in the Maccabean period the Philistine cities (footnote 9 to n. 23) were Hellenistic (n. 11 on IX). Even the Phenicians may have come from Europe (cf. n. 11 to the paper cited at the end of n. 18 on I). Nor were they the inventors of the Semitic alphabet. This must have originated in an agricultural community. If it had been invented by the Phenicians, we should expect at least one symbol connected with navigation; the Aleph *e.g.* might have been indicated by a ship (Heb. 'ōnī, Aram. 'ilfā) instead of the head of an ox (v).

(21) Judas Maccabæus punished the Edomites, Ammonites, &c, who had attacked the Jews (1 M 5, 3-7). He destroyed Hebron, the capital of the Edomites (n. 3 on VII). He took revenge on the heathen in Gilead who had attacked the Jews living among them (n. 4 on VII). He sacked Ephron (in the *Wady el-Ghafr*, W of Irbid, E of the Jordan) because the people of Ephron did not heed him when he asked them to permit him to pass through their country (1 M 5, 46-51). Simon punished the heathen in Galilee (1 M 5, 21). John Hyrcanus (n. 1) destroyed the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim (128 B.C.) and the city of Samaria (n. 10 on IX). He also conquered the Idumeans and forced them to embrace Judaism. His son and successor Aristobulus (n. 9) subdued the Itureans, *i.e.* the descendants of the Assyrian colonists in Galilee, many of whom were Aryans. This Judaization of Galilee is alluded to in the Maccabean gloss prefixed to the poetic glorification of the Return (from the Exile in 538 B.C.) and of the birth of the Davidic prince Zerubbabel, Is. 9, 1 (Heb. 8, 23). He who brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali is Tiglath-pileser IV (738 B.C.). The later

*Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Der Diskus von Phaestos und die Philister auf Kreta* (in the Proceedings of the Berlin Academy, Oct. 21, 1909) pp. 1027. 1028.

†Also the Israelites who invaded Canaan (from NE) spoke Aramaic; see p. 8 of my paper cited at the end of n. 4 on VII; cf. p. 366 of the paper cited at the end of n. 18 on I, ZDMG 63, 526, l. 38; 527, l. 45; 528, l. 13. Assyrian is but an older local variety of Aramaic (Nah. 2). Hebrew was the language of Canaan before the invasion of the Israelites, but in the Maccabean passage Is. 19, 18 the language of Canaan denotes Aramaic, not Hebrew. Also τῇ πατριᾷ φωνῇ in 2 M 7, 8. 21. 27 means in Aramaic (see Est. 17). After the Babylonian Captivity Hebrew was superseded by Aramaic (cf. also GJV 3, 28).

(king) who conferred honor on the district of the nations is Aristobulus who judaized Galilee in 103 B.C. This was looked upon as a rehabilitation of the country. Cf. n. 30, also footnote 5 to my paper cited in n. 4 on VII. Contrast Prof. W. B. Smith's article, *The Jewish Element in Galilee in The Open Court* (December, 1909) pp. 748-762.

For the nations which did not heed the Maccabees cf. Is. 60, 12.

(22) For the reason why stanza B appears in RT before stanza A see n. 6 on IV.

(23) In the future. Stanza B does not express fanciful eschatological hopes, but the reasonable expectations of the Maccabees aroused by their glorious victories. At the end of the Book of Obadiah (which was written in 164, before the destruction of Hebron; cf. n. 21, also n. 41 on III) the Maccabean poet says:

18 And Jacob's race¹ will be a fire,
a flame the race of Joseph;¹
But Esau's race² will be as stubble—
them they will burn³ and devour⁴

19 They will own the South⁵ and the Foothills,⁷
will own the land of Ephraim,⁸

20 { Will own the towns of the sea-board, } []
Phenicia as far as Sarepta.

[And remove will 'the Sons of Israel]
from Gilead and Sepphoris,⁴ }

21 'Returning again' to Mount Zion⁶
to punish⁵ the mountain⁶ of Esau.⁴

(α) 18 there will be no survivor of the race of Esau;² JHVH has spoken

(β) 19 the mountains⁶ of Esau² (γ) the Philistines⁷ (δ) the district of Samaria

(ε) 20 to (ζ) this army (η) as helpers⁸

(θ) 20 they will remove to Jerusalem and Benjamin (ι) and the kingdom will be JHVH's.

¹ The Maccabees; cf. nn. 17, 18 on I.

² The Idumeans (1 M 4, 15, 29, 61; 5, 3, 65; 6, 31; 11, 65; 14, 33; 2 M 10, 15; 12, 32). Esau (i.e. Maker) was originally the national god of the Edumites (OLZ 10, 63, n. 1).

³ See 1 M 5, 65.

⁴ Both *Sepharad* in the present passage and *Arbatta* in 1 M 5, 23 are corruptions of *Sippōrtm*, Sepphoris, the capital of Galilee in the Maccabean period; see AJSL 26, 10. Cf. footnote ‡ to n. 24.

⁵ Lit. judge, execute judgment; cf. below, n. 28.

⁶ Cf. n. 3 on V.

⁷ Cf. 1 M 4, 22; 5, 66, 68; Is. 11, 14; see also n. 20.

⁸ To augment our forces in our proposed expedition against the capital of Idumea. If we read the passive participle (nōš a'1m or mōš a'1m) it would mean those rescued from Gilead and Galilee; cf. 1 M 6, 53: οἱ ἀνασωζόμενοι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν.

The first couplet and the last hemistich of the final couplet refer to the destruction of the capital of the Edomites, which the Maccabees hoped to accomplish with the help of their brethren rescued from Gilead and Galilee (n. 4 on VII). After the victory over the Edomites they expected to conquer the country S of Judah (n. 3 on VII) and the *Shephelah* (n. 15 on I) between the mountains of Judah and the Mediterranean, also Ephraim (i.e. Samaria; cf. n. 3 on VII and 1 M 10, 30. 38; 11, 28. 34) and the Hellenistic cities on the Philistine coast⁹ as well as Phenicia¹⁰ as far as Sarepta (1 M 5, 15). These expectations were quite reasonable, and were afterwards, at least to a great extent, realized. There are no Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament; nor are there any Messianic psalms.¹¹ The so-called eschatological passages have, as a rule, a definite historical background.

Nor was the hope unreasonable that the gentiles would eventually acknowledge the superiority of the Jewish religion. In the Book of Esther (which was written about B.C. 130) we are told (8, 17) that *many of the people of the land became Jews; for the fear of the Jews fell upon them* (cf. also 2 M 9, 17). Proselytes (n. 26) are mentioned in Ps. 118 (n. 11 on VII). Cf. also the Maccabean passage Is. 56, 6 and the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 208, l. 38.

(24) This does not refer to a physical elevation of Jerusalem.* It means simply that the small hill of Zion will become the most important mountain, just as the small country of Palestine is one of the most important countries from a religious point of view. In Ps. 42, 7 a Maccabean poet says of Zion: *I think of thee, little mountain, from across † Jordan and the Hermon region.‡* In Ps. 68, 17 we find: *Why lie ye in wait, ye peaks, for the mount whereon God chose to dwell?* The peaks symbolize the Syrians and their allies (n. 28 on V). Both psalms refer to 164 B.C. (AJSL 23, 230, n. 23; 225, n. 1). In the Maccabean psalm 137 (OLZ 10, 65) the poet apostrophizes Zion:

Forget thee? let my hand wither!
my tongue cleave to my palate!
If ever I think not of thee,
nor set thee above my chief joy!

⁹Cf. 1 M 11, 8. 59; 15, 38; also 4, 15; 5, 58; 10, 39. 76. 84. 86. 89; 11, 60. 61; 12, 33; 13, 11; 14, 34; 15, 28. 35; 16, 10.

¹⁰Lit. *the land of the Canaanites*. Canaan was the native name for Phenicia; see the translation of *Isaiah*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 148, n. 6; EB 638. Canaan means *Lowland* and denoted originally the Phenician coast. Cf. the conclusion of n. 20.

¹¹See JHUC, No. 108, p. 108; No. 114, p. 110; No. 163, p. 90; *Ecclesiastes* 37; AJSL 21, 145, n. 43; *Pur.* 47, 21.

*Contrast the translations of *Isaiah* (p. 147, l. 40) and *Ezekiel* (p. 178, l. 8) in the Polychrome Bible; also Zech. 14, 10.

†Read 'Al-kén Azkorkhá {har-miq'ár}|me-'évr Iardén uš-Harmonim} }

‡That is, Gilead and Bashan (n. 4 on VII). The Heb. text uses the *pluralis extensus* *Hermonim* for the Hermon region. Similarly we have in 1 M 5, 23 ἐν Ἀρβάροις for the district of Sepphoris. *Arbaktā* is a corruption of *Arbana*, *Sarbana*, *Sabrana*; see footnote 4 to n. 23. For the omission of the initial s cf. *Apra* (Is. 20, 1) for *Sargon*, &c.

(25) The Maccabees hoped to convert the gentile tribes of Palestine to Judaism. In Ps. 118 (written in B.C. 142; see n. 10) the patriotic poet says of the heathen who had swarmed about the Maccabees like bees: *we will trim them*, i.e. we shall force them to embrace Judaism and submit to circumcision (AJSL 22, 253, n. 13). Cf. Ps. 2, 10, 11 (n. 9) and Pss. 22, 28; 66, 4; 67, 4-6; 68, 33; 86, 9; 96, 7-10; 102, 16, 23; 138, 4. In the majority of these passages we must substitute *land* (cf. n. 46; n. 36 on VI; n. 1 on IX) for *earth* (so, too, Pss. 89, 28; 2, 2; cf. n. 9). Cf. also Zech. 8, 20-23; 14, 16, 21; Is. 60, 3; 66, 23; see also conclusion of n. 23.

(26) The proselytes were not expected to follow all the precepts of the Law (GJV 3, 155, 164, 166, 173). The Greek term *προσῳῆτοι* (Heb. *gerim*) is used of gentiles who had become real Jews (Gal. 5, 3). The converts who did not observe all the details of the Law were known as *φοβούμενοι* or *σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν*, *those who fear (or worship) God*; cf. conclusion of n. 23. The term *gerē haš-šā' r=oi seβόμενοι* is not found in the Talmud (GJV 3, 175, 177, 178).

(27) Zion will be the religious center; cf. the translation of Ps. 87, 5 in the Polychrome Bible.

(28) Lit. *He will judge*, i.e. *execute judgment* (1 S 3, 13; Joel 4, 12; Ps. 149, 7-9; 98, 9) *among many nations*. Similarly an enthusiastic follower of Zerubbabel (cf. conclusion of n. 10, also nn. 30, 40, 43) says in Ps. 110, 6: *he will judge among the nations* (Heb. *iaḏin bag-gōiim*) i.e. *he will punish the nations*. The rendering *he will arbitrate between many peoples* is unwarranted.*

(29) He will remonstrate with them, call them to account (Prov. 9, 7; 15, 12; 19, 25). Cf. e.g. Ps. 2, 10-12 (n. 9) and Pss. 18, 44, 45; 47, 4; 94, 10, and especially 149, 7 (*tōkeḥōth*). The translation *he will give decisions to many peoples* is erroneous.

(30) The stone which the builders rejected will be the keystone: the Maccabees will be so powerful that all the heathen tribes of Palestine will be unable to attack them. Peace will reign, the people will have no use for weapons of war. Similarly a follower of Zerubbabel (n. 28) says in Is. 9, 4 (OLZ 12, 67)† that after the birth of a legitimate heir to the throne of David

Every clanking shoe† and cuirassed|| corselet
Will go to the smelter§ to feed the fire.

*The Hebrew original (EB 2858, 3) of *κρίνειν τὸν λαόν* (1 M 9, 73) meant, not *to govern the people*, but *to execute judgment among the people*, to call the apostates to account (Heb. *lišpōt eth-ha-'ām*).

†Also Is. 11, 1-20 refers to Zerubbabel. The verbs both in Is. 9, 2 (Heb. 1) and 11, 1 are preterites; cf. n. 42, also n. 3 on IX.

‡With metal greaves; cf. 1 S 17, 6; BA 3, 174, l. 17.

||Lit. *encrusted*, Heb. *muḡladāh*; cf. *Keith*. 76b and *gald*, *plate*, *Jom*. 44b, also *Luther's Krebs* (Eph. 6, 14; 1 Thess. 5, 8) for *breast-plate*.

§Read *ḡerephāh*, *smelting* instead of *serephāh*, *burning*; cf. the name *Zarephath*. For a *bi-'ad* in the next verse we must read a *bi-jā'd* or a *bi-qā'd*, *father of the congre-*

Contrast Joel 3, 10. In the glorification of Simon's reign (1 M 14, 8. 11. 13) we read: *Then did they till their ground in peace . . . He made peace in the land . . . Neither was there any left in the land to fight against them: yea, the kings themselves were overthrown in those days.* Cf. also Hos. 2, 20; 11, 11; Ez. 39, 26; Is. 32, 17. 18.

(31) Cf. 1 K 4, 25 (Heb. 5, 5) and 2 K 18, 31. The Maccabean poem quoted in the preceding note says (v. 12) of Simon's reign: *Every man sat under his vine and his fig-tree, and there was none to fray them.* Cf. also Zech. 3, 10; Is. 37, 30.

(32) This passage must not be interpreted to mean that the Jews will not interfere with the religion of any other tribe or nation, just as no one will be permitted to interfere with their worship of יהוה. The Maccabees were not tolerant: they forced the Idumeans and the Itureans to embrace Judaism; in Ps. 118 they threaten that they will compel all their enemies to submit to circumcision (nn. 21. 25). Heb. kī, at the beginning of v. 5, does not mean *for*, but *although*.* Cf. 1 M 2, 19. 20; also Josh. 24, 15.

With the name of our God does not mean *with the name of Jahveh on our lips, invoking the name† of Jahveh*, but *with the name of our God inscribed upon us*; cf. Is. 44, 5: *This one will mark on his hand: Jahveh's.†* Slaves were branded with the owner's name. Worshipers tattooed on their body symbols of their God (EB 974). If the name of יהוה is marked on the Jews, it shows that they are His peculiar people. The phrase upon which *His name is read*‡ need not be interpreted literally;§ it means simply, *which is His peculiar property, which belongs to Him.* So *we shall walk with the name of our God* is equivalent to *We shall walk in His ways so that all the people will see that the name of Jahveh is inscribed* (lit. *read*) *upon us*, i.e. *that we are His peculiar people* (Deut. 28, 10). יהוה is in the midst of us, and His name is inscribed (lit. *read*) upon us (Jer. 14, 9).** An officer of the life-guards with the name of his king on the uniform must prove himself worthy of the name.

gation, jā'd = Talmud. qā'd, Syr. qā'dā = Heb. mō'ēd. The preceding ḥl-gibbōr means στρατηγός; ḥl is construct state of aḥl, *leader*; cf. Ez. 32, 21; AJSL 22, 251; GK §128, l.

* Cf. AV in Josh. 17, 18. See also Nah. 22. 28. 29. 39; Est. 17; AJSL 26, 227, below.

† Cf. Gen. 4, 26; 12, 8; Is. 64, 6; Ps. 105, 1. We must not read the passive of Qal (GK §52, e) in passages like Ps. 79, 6 &c.

‡ In the Greek Bible: ἐπιγράφει χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰμι. Cf. p. 75 of the translation of *Isaiah* in the Polychrome Bible. See also Ez. 9, 14; Ex. 13, 9. 16; Rev. 13, 17; 14, 9; Gal. 6, 17 (BL 61).

§ Not called; cf. GB¹⁵, xvii, l. 7.

§ Cf. our phrases *died in the wool* or *red tape*, &c.

** Cf. also Am. 9, 12 and Is. 63, 19; 2 Chr. 7, 14; Jer. 15, 16; Sir. 47, 18; also 2 S 6, 2; 1 K 8, 43; Jer. 7, 10. 11. 14. 30; 25, 29; 32, 34; 34, 15; Dan. 9, 18; 2 Chr. 6, 33. The renderings *which are called by My name* (AV) and τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα μου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς (Acts 15, 17) are erroneous.

(33) This gloss is due to a misunderstanding; see n. 2.

(34) This is a quotation from another poem with a different meter (2+2). JHVH speaks here, not one of the Maccabean rulers; contrast n. 2.

(35) All who belong to JHVH's flock (n. 2 on VII) are to be brought to Jerusalem and Judea (cf. Ez. 34, 13-16; 36, 24; 37, 21; 39, 27).

(36) The *Tower of the Flock* (n. 2 on VII) is the Temple on Mount Zion. For towers built for the protection of the flocks against robbers &c (Gen. 35, 21; 2 Chr. 26, 10) see EB 1181. 710. 713. 5141. Traces of such towers are found at the present day.

(37) This is the area of the royal palace on Mount Zion (2 Chr. 27, 3; 33, 14; Is. 32, 14). The Heb. word translated *Court* ('ophl) denotes the southeastern portion of the Ḥaram aš-šarif,* where the palace of Solomon stood, whereas millô seems to be the name of the northwestern area with the Temple. Both 'ophl and millô mean *filling*=raised embankment, leveled platform in which the cavities of the ground are filled. The Assyr. term is mullû, or tamlû, or kûmu (AJSL 26, 24, n. 59). Cf. the translation of the new inscription of Sennacherib in part 26 of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets &c in the British Museum* (London, 1909) p. 23, ll. 5. 8. For kûmu see *ibid.* p. 26, l. 39.† Cf. the plans of Jerusalem facing p. 29 of Baedeker's *Palästina und Syrien* (1910) and col. 2421 of EB, also the plate facing p. 70 of the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, and the sketches on p. 303 of G's *Bibelwörterbuch*.

(38) Here this epithet may imply that Zion is to be henceforth impregnable (cf. conclusion of n. 21 on III).

(39) Soon after the accession of Simon, the Syrian yoke was taken away from Judea (1 M 13, 41). In 141 B.C. the people made him hereditary ruler and high-priest. Afterwards many of his loyal followers no doubt entertained the hope that he would restore the *former dominion* (or *kingdom*) and make Jerusalem a royal capital; but neither Simon nor his son John Hyrcanus assumed the regal title.‡ In B.C. 104, however, Simon's grandson Aristobulus was crowned as the first King of the Jews.

*See the plate facing p. 2 of the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, and the remarks *ibid.* p. 235.

†King has misunderstood this word and the syntactical connection; ša kûmê xetêšun is a construction like ša marši murussu (cf. CT 26, 27, l. 65; 28, l. 6; 29, l. 13). The term xittu (not xêtu, HW 271b) does not mean *chamber*; it is the Syriac ḥitta which denotes a *plank*, especially one resting on piles or pillars. Cf. Brockelmann's *Lex. Syr.* 127b, also *Kings* 86, 5; 96, 26. This word is not derived from exád = Heb. axáz (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 105) but from the root xat, *to cut*, which we have also in xaták, *to cut*, and xatán, *bridegroom*, originally *circumcised*; see AJSL 22, 250; contrast Ed. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften* (Halle, 1910) p. 340. In the Talmud xatán is used of a child which is to be circumcised. The stems xatát, *to cut* and xatát, *to break* are identical just as Syr. tēbār means both *to break*, *bruise* and *to rend*, *tear*.

‡Alexander Balas (i.e. *the poor but wise youth*, alluded to in Eccl. 4, 13; see *Pur.* 35, 42; cf. TLZ 35, 389) had sent Jonathan a *purple robe and a crown of gold*, also a *buckle of gold*, as the use is to be given to the kinsmen of kings; see 1 M 10, 20. 62. 89; also 14, 43.

His coronation is glorified in Ps. 2 (n. 9). This poem was afterwards prefixed to the Psalter, when this Maccabean collection of hymns was edited under the reign of Aristobulus' widow and consort of Aristobulus' younger brother, Queen Salmah Alexandra, about 70 B.C. In Acts 13, 33 Ps. 2 is referred to as the first psalm. Ps. 1 (which may have been composed in B.C. 153; AJSL 19, 135) is a later (possibly after 100 A.D.) Pharisaic introduction (ZDMG 58, 629, n. 22).

(40) Ephrath, which may have been originally the name of one of the fertile valleys about Hebron, was the name of David's clan. The Hasmonean priest-kings were not descendants of David,* and some glossator, who believed that only a *son of David* could be the legitimate (n. 31 on III) King of the Jews, added this quotation from a poem referring to the Davidic prince Zerubbabel (nn. 10. 28. 30. 43-46).

(41) David was not of ancient lineage like Saul; his family was not old; in fact, he was an upstart. The statement in 1 S 17, 12 that David's father was an elder (*i.e.* skeik) among men † in the days of Saul, is a late addition. For the original meaning of the name *Judah* see p. 358 of the paper cited at the end of n. 18 on I; ZDMG 63, 513, n. 1; also n. 38 on V.

(42) Has come out, issued. We must read the perfect *jaça*, not the future *jeçê*. Cf. first footnote to n. 30.

(43) Lit. *to me*; see the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 179, l. 42; p. 188, l. 45; AJSL 20, 164; 21, 143, n. 27; 23, 258. Cf. also Is. 9, 6: *A child (Zerubbabel) has been born to us, a son has been given to us, on whose head there will be a royal crown* (n. 30).

(44) Zerubbabel is to be the future ruler of Judah. For *Israel* instead of *Judah* cf. n. 64, also n. 8 on V. Contrast n. 14 on IX.

(45) Cf. the beginning of Ps. 110, which refers to Zerubbabel's rebellion against the King of Persia (n. 10):

To my lord has יהוה said: "Sit on my right,
While I will make thy foes stools for thy feet."

See OLZ 12, 67, n. 1 and p. 280, n. 15 of my paper cited at the end of n. 41 on III. Cf. also 2 Chr. 20, 17. For *reign*, lit. *shepherd* (AV *feed*) cf. Ez. 34, 23; 37, 24; Jer. 23, 1-4; 2 S 7, 7; also the explanation of Ps. 23 in AJSL 21, 134. †

(46) Lit. *he will be great to the ends of the land* (not *earth*! n. 1 on IX) *i.e.* he will be recognized as the legitimate king of Judah and will restore the former extent of the Davidic kingdom.

(47) Assyria=Syria, *i.e.* the Seleucidan kingdom; see ZDMG 61, 286, l. 1; Nah. 23 and 17, n. 19; TOCR 1, 268. Cf. also Is. 10, 24; Ps. 83, 9.

*Neither were they descendants of Aaron; see 1 M 7, 14.

†Ba before ba 'našim is due to dittography.

‡We must not insert *his flock* after *shepherd* or *reign*, although the Greek Bible has ποιμαίνει τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ. In the last line of θ, on the other hand, we have a different word, not ra'ah, *to feed*, but ra'ā' (the Aramaic form of Heb. ra'āq) *to shatter*.

(48) Mattathias with his five valiant sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, Jonathan (1 M 2, 2; 13, 28) and the two sons of Simon, Judas and John Hyrcanus (1 M 13, 53; 16, 2). Cf. nn. 1. 2. 9. 21. 39.

(49) Nimrod's land=Babylonia (Gen. 10, 10) *i.e.* the Seleucidan kingdom which is called in the Maccabean psalm 137 (OLZ 10, 65) the *destroying Daughter of Babylon*; cf. conclusion of n. 19. For *Nimrod* see n. 2 on the tenth page of my paper cited above, p. 15, n. 10.

(50) Cf. 1 M 5, 28. 35. 36. 44; 10, 84; 11, 48. 61; 13, 11. 47; 16, 10. Nearly all towns of Palestine were in the hands of the gentiles at that time. Contrast the late gloss Hos. 8, 14.

(51) Cf. n. 11 on VII; also 1 M 5, 51. 65; 6, 20. 26; 11, 20. 65; 13, 43. 50; 14, 7. 33; 15, 28.

(52) Statues of the Greek gods; cf. n. 11 on IX and 1 M 5, 68; 6, 7;* 13, 47. See also 1 M 2, 25. 45; 5, 44; 10, 84; 11, 4, and Nah. 1, 14 (*Nah.* 10; ZDMG 61, 279).

(53) This term (Heb. *maṣṣevāh*; cf. conclusion of n. 35 on V) was probably used of the *hermæ*. In the Talmud a *ἐρμῆς* (or *Ἑρμῆος λόφος*, cf. EB 2978) is called *Marqûlîs*,† *i.e.* Mercurius. Cf. EB 2979, 2.

(54) Statues of Greek gods. Cf. the gloss in Is. 40, 19; see my translation cited in footnote to n. 31 on III. Cf. also Pss. 115, 4; 135, 15; Deut. 4, 28.

(55) Asherah denoted originally a wooden post or mast at Canaanite places of worship. The view that these poles were phallic emblems is erroneous; nor were they conventional substitutes for living trees. There were Asherahs even in the Temple at Jerusalem (2 K 23, 6). It is possible that late interpolators confounded *asherah* with the name of the goddess Astarte so that *asherah* in the present gloss may denote statues of Greek goddesses (cf. Acts 19, 27). In Assyrian, *Ištar* (which is an old feminine form of *Ašur*; see *Pur.* 40, 21; JAOS 28, 115) is used for *goddess*. Cf. EB 331. 2982, 6.

(56) This gloss is unnecessary; cf. n. 29 on I.

(57) Cf. 1 M 3, 3. 9. 26; 5, 63; 14, 10.

(58) That is, thou wilt fill her with the busy hum of men, the noise of a crowd of people.† Cf. Ez. 36, 38; Zech. 2, 8. 15; 8, 4–8. 20. 23.

(59) *Leḥem* between *Bêth-Ephrāth*, *House of Ephrath* is a later insertion. Ephrath and Beth-leḥem are not identical. David was not born at Beth-leḥem, nor was any son or descendant of David ever born there. Jesus was not a descendant of David, and He was born at

*For the *abomination* (*i.e.* Zeus) see footnote to n. 37 on VI.

†Cf. the Jewish name *Margolis*, *i.e.* the Aramaic *margôlîtha* (Syr. *margânîthā*; cf. ZDMG 61, 195, 3)=*μαργαρίτης*, Lat. *margarita*, French *marguerite*, pearl (*i.e.* our *Margaret*; cf. the Arabic name *Murjānah*).

‡It is almost equivalent to the Arabic phrase *tāḡla'u 'l-madīnatu bi'āhliha or taḡliqu bihā li-kātratihim*.

Nazareth (ZDMG 63, 514, n. 10). See OLZ 12, 66, below, and p. 2 of the paper on the ancestry of Jesus, cited in n. 4 on VII.

(60) This is quaternary gloss; without this addition the Heb. word for *of old* (miqqādm) might be taken to mean *in the east* (Gen. 2, 8). Cf. III, β where the Heb. for *nakedness* ('ārīah) without the tertiary addition *shame* (Heb. bošt) might be misread 'ārēhā, *her cities* (so in the Greek Bible).

(61) Into slavery or bondage (1 K 14, 16). In Assyrian, *to give* means *to sell*, and *to receive* = *to buy*. The Heb. text has *he* (i.e. *some one*) *will sell them* (cf. n. 67).

(62) This is based on a Messianic* interpretation of the passage Is. 7, 14: *Behold, a young woman † will be with child, and bear a son, and call his name Immanuel*, i.e. young women who are with child and bear a son will call his name Immanuel, ‡ and before those children are grown up, || the lands of whose two kings Ahaz is sore afraid will be desolate (Is. 8, 14). JHVH will repel the attack of King Rezon of Damascus and King Pekah of Israel in a few months, and in a few years Damascus and Israel will be devastated. When Ahaz trembled before Rezon and Pekah, who marched (734 B.C.) against Jerusalem in order to force Judah to join their league against King Tiglath-pileser IV of Assyria, the prophet Isaiah assured the king that JHVH would help him and his people. It would be so manifest that God was with them that young (newly married) women would call their sons *Immanuel*, i.e. *God is with us*. Similarly a German chaplain might have told the soldiers before the fall of Sedan on Sept. 2, 1870, This is sure to be a great victory; our young wives at home will call their new-born sons Sedan. Some children born on that memorable day were indeed christened Sedan.

(63) The exiles who have remained in Babylonia. There is no connection between this phrase and the Isaianic *Shear-jashub* (Is. 7, 3). This does not mean *a remnant will return* (from the exile to Jerusalem) or *a remnant will be converted* (lit. *return*, scil. to JHVH). The name may have meant simply *The rest* (of the children) *will turn up*. This would be a name like *Josiphiah* (JHVH will give increase) or *Sennacherib*, which means *O Moon-god, give brothers as a reward* (AJSL 26, 19, l. 5; ZDMG 63, 517, l. 35). The Heb. verb šūb, *to turn* means not only *to return*, but also *to go to the proper place* or *to come at the proper time*; see *Kings* 172, 41; 185, 22; cf. the phrases *to return a member to Parliament*, *to render homage*, &c. The name *Maher-shalal-hash-baz* is different, and even the name *Shear-jashub* may afterwards have received a symbolical interpretation; cf. the Maccabean passage Is. 10, 21.

*Cf. Matt. 1, 23; EB 2163, below. Contrast above, n. 23.

†Not the virgin; the article is generic (OLZ 11, 123).

‡Cf. the translation of *Isaiah*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 141, l. 25; EB 2182, 2242.

||Lit. *know how to refuse the evil and choose the good*; cf. the Homeric parallel (*Od.* 18, 228) cited in ZDMG 63, 519, 23.

(64) That is, the Jews (n. 44).

(65) The restoration of the Davidic dynasty will inaugurate an era of prosperity. In the patriotic poem Is. 9, 5 (cf. n. 30) Zerubbabel is called *prince of prosperity* (not *peace*; OLZ 12, 248; contrast Eph. 2, 14). Cf. the declarations of Louis XIV and Napoleon III: *L' état c'est moi* and *L' empire c'est la paix*.*

(66) This is a variant (with *border* instead of *soil*) to the first two hemistichs of the quotation in gloss θ . Glosses and variants are often added at the end of a section (*Pur.* 47, 41).

(67) Lit. *and he*, i.e. *some one, will deliver them*; cf. n. 61, also n. 17 on III.

IX

(1) Cf. n. 5 on V and conclusion of n. 1 on V. The destruction of Samaria made a great impression on all peoples of the land, i.e. Palestine (not *the earth*; see conclusion of n. 25 on VIII). Cf. n. 9 on VIII.

(2) Lit. *her fulness*, i.e. *what she* (Palestine) *is full of*.

(3) We must read the preterite (יאצא) *He came out* instead of the participle (יֹצֵא) *He comes out*. Cf. n. 42 on VIII, and below, n. 9. This hymn was written after the destruction of Samaria about 107 B.C. (GJV 1, 268). It is not a prophecy which was afterwards fulfilled by John Hyrcanus (cf. n. 1 on VIII).

(4) This great achievement was attributed to direct divine intervention. יהוה came from Mount Sinai; cf. Deut. 33, 2; also the glosses in Jud. 5, 5 and Ps. 68, 9, 18 (AJSL 23, 224). *His place* (Is. 26, 21) does not denote the heaven, nor is this the meaning of *His holy Temple* (on Mount Zion) in gloss α . Sinai (which means *covered with senna shrubs*) was a volcano on the northeastern shore of the Red Sea; see pp. 355. 361. 364 of the paper cited at the end of n. 18 on I; cf. ZDMG 63, 508, ll. 18. 29; 509, l. 32; 511, ll. 23. 41. This volcano has recently been identified by Professor Alois Musil, of the University of Vienna.

(5) The mountains of Palestine (Edom, Judah, Ephraim). Cf. the late passage Am. 4, 13; also Deut. 32, 13; 33, 29.

(6) This couplet describes a volcanic eruption, with streams of lava and earthquakes, whereby יהוה manifests Himself as in times of yore on Mount Sinai (Ex. 19, 16. 18; 20, 18).† See p. 361 of my paper cited at the end of n. 18 on I; also ZDMG 63, 520, n. 36.

(7) Cf. Ps. 97, 5; Nah. 1, 6 (*Nah.* 9; ZDMG 61, 278).

* Cf. Georg Büchmann, *Geflügelte Worte*, 20th ed. (Berlin, 1900) pp. 500. 519.

† Cf. also Pss. 47, 6; 104, 32; 144, 5. The voice of the trumpet denotes the subterranean roaring, rumbling, and thundering accompanying a volcanic eruption or earthquake. See my paper on the Trumpets of Jericho in the Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. 23, p. 357. Cf., on the other hand, 1 M 9, 13 (they sounded their trumpets so that the earth shook at the noise of the armies).

(8) This refers to streams of lava. The mountains melt like wax, and the molten rocks flow down like a waterfall.*

(9) We must again read the preterite (uḥ-sám-ti) *I made*, not the future (uḥ-sam-ti) *I shall make*; so, too, uḥ-higgárti, *I poured down*, not uḥ-higgartí, *I shall pour down* (cf. n. 3).

(10) Samaria was so utterly destroyed and burned that there was a stream of stones flowing down from the crest of the hill (nearly 1500 feet) like a stream of lava.† The city stood on an oblong isolated hill which is precipitous on the one side and easily fortified on the other (EB 4526). Josephus (*Ant.* 13, 10, 3) says of John Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria in 107 B.C.‡ that the Maccabean conqueror captured the city after a siege of one year. He was not satisfied with the capture, but he destroyed the city utterly so that it was swept away by the torrents. (He razed it in such a way that it fell into the rushing streams.)|| It looked as though there could never be a city again in that place.—When Sargon captured Samaria in B.C. 721, he did not destroy the city (n. 27 on I). Hyrcanus, however, was not satisfied with the capture of Samaria, says Josephus; he destroyed it. Josephus' description of the destruction of Samaria is evidently based on the present passage.

(11) Statues of Greek gods (nn. 52-55 on VIII). The city of Samaria was not inhabited by Samaritans at that time, but by descendants of the Macedonian colonists whom Alexander the Great had settled there in 331 B.C. Both Samaria and Beth-shean (at that time known as Scythopolis) were Hellenistic cities (GJV 2, 18. 195).

(12) Votive offerings (ἀναθήματα) set up in the Greek temples of Samaria. The statues of the Greek gods and the votive offerings will be burned and scattered like the volcanic bombs and lapilli ejected from

*Lit. like waters falling, muggarim or mēmuggarim, part. Pual of magár, to fall. This Pual means properly to be caused to fall.

†Prince Hohenlohe says of Mount Vesuvius, which he ascended with King Frederick William IV of Prussia in the spring of 1859: *Dann führte der Weg an einem Abgrund vorbei, dem gegenüber die glühende Lava in kolossaler Breite hinabstürzte. Es kann nichts Majestätischeres geben als diese Riesenkaskade von Feuer, mit den brennenden Wellen und den aufspritzenden Feuermassen.* See Prinz Kraft zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, *Aus meinem Leben*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1905) p. 186. In the same memoirs, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1907) p. 241 he states that when he bombarded the fortress of Montmédy on Sept. 5, 1870, the smoke of the burning barracks, magazines, &c. ascended in a vertical column which spread on high into a mushroom-like cloud from which cinders fell to the ground round about. This aspect reminded him of Mount Vesuvius. On p. 439 of the same volume he relates that during the bombardment of Paris a powder magazine exploded in the Prussian battery No. 23. A great column of steam, earth, smoke, and dust ascended heavenward and expanded overhead like a gigantic mushroom, whereupon it slowly came down, covering everything with a thin layer of sand.

‡Baedeker, *Syrien und Palästina* (Leipzig, 1910) p. 208 states that John Hyrcanus destroyed Samaria in 129 B.C. This, however, is the date of the destruction of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim (n. 21 on VIII).

||This seems to be an explanatory gloss to the preceding clause.

a volcano; cf. p. 365 of the paper referred to in n. 6, and ZDMG 63, 509, l. 37 (Ex. 19, 13; 34, 3).

(13) The people of Samaria. This line was added by a late glossator who referred this glorification of Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria, in 107 B.C., to Sargon's capture of Samaria in 721. He believed that the Assyrian king destroyed Samaria, and that this was the punishment for the sins of the Northern Kingdom (nn. 13, 14 on V). By permitting the Assyrians to destroy Samaria, JHVH testified against the Northern Kingdom (n. 26 on V). Also Hyrcanus' destruction of Samaria was, of course, regarded as a testimony of JHVH against that city.

(14) Here *Jacob* and *Israel* denote the Northern Kingdom, not Judah; contrast nn. 17, 18 on I; 24, 32 on III; n. 8 on V; nn. 44, 64 on VIII.

(15) Compare note 13 on V.

(16) The destruction of Samaria as described in the two following verses (couplet iii).

(17) Cf. n. 2 on IV. This is a variant to the word in the text. The article prefixed to *field* (has-saḏēh) should be appended to the preceding word ('aḡḡāh instead of 'ī). The term 'aḡḡāh may denote also a city destroyed by an earthquake (OLZ 11, 238). Cf. the names *Ai*, *Aiath*, and *Iim* (Josh. 7, 2; 15, 29; Is. 10, 28). Both Jericho and Ai, it may be supposed, were destroyed by earthquakes. Cf. footnote to n. 6, and the footnote to n. 7 on X, also n. 59 to my paper cited at the end of n. 1 on III.

(18) The first line of this tertiary gloss refers to the secondary gloss δ (v. 5). The first glossator added *For Jacob's sin is all this*. A later glossator raised the question *What is* (meant by) *Jacob's sin*? * *Is it not Samaria*? Samaria is the impersonation of Israel's sin. It is not impossible that the expression *Jacob's sin* conveyed to this late glossator the idea *sin of Judah* (n. 17 on I) and *Jerusalem*; therefore he may have remarked, *Is it not Samaria? Why does he speak in this case of Jacob's sin? Why does not he say, the sin of Samaria?* Although Samaria was a Hellenistic city when it was destroyed in B.C. 107, the name suggested to a Jew in the first century B.C. the hateful sect of the Samaritans (Sir. 50, 26; John 4, 9; 8, 48) while *Jacob* was referred to the Jews.

(19) The second line of this gloss refers to *the heights of the land*, at the end of couplet i. The glossator asks: *What is* (meant by) *heights of the land* or *heights of Judah*? *Does not he mean Jerusalem?* Jerusalem would be preferable, because *heights of the land* or *heights of Judah* might be referred to the idolatrous high-places (n. 5 on IV). A distinguished modern commentator regards this tertiary gloss as the first genuine line of Micah.

*For explanatory glosses with repetition of the phrase commented on cf. the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 94, n. *.

(20) Another glossator has added the statement *The chief transgressor is* (lit. *the mastery of sin belongs to*) *the maiden Zion*, not Samaria.

(21) The capital Jerusalem was the most corrupt place of the entire country. *Israel* stands here for *Judah*; cf. the references given at the end of n. 14.

(22) This is a variant to gloss ε. The hill of Samaria is terraced so that it might be used for vineyards (AJSL 19, 201, n. 2; BL 45, n. 1).

(23) Samaria.

(24) The statues of the Greek gods (n. 11) and the votive offerings (n. 12) were donations of idolatrous worshipers, and idolatry was regarded as harlotry;* therefore the pious gifts of the worshipers of Greek gods are called *hire of a harlot* (Deut. 23, 19). Contrast Is. 23, 17, 18, where (*harlot*) *hire* denotes the wealth derived by Tyre from her commerce with all the kingdoms of the world.

(25) The soldiers of John Hyrcanus sack the city and sell the votive offerings, &c. The money they acquire in this way is given to the prostitutes who accompany the army; so the *harlot hire* becomes again harlot hire. John Hyrcanus' army did not consist only of orthodox Jews; it included also many foreign mercenaries (EB 315. 2857, l. 4).

X

(1) This poem may be an Essenian psalm. It is neither Pharisaic nor Sadducean (*Pur.* 7, 38; TOCR 1, 269, n. 4). The Essenes were a Palestinian brotherhood of Jewish ascetics, which seems to have been organized in the second century B.C. Essenism does not seem to have been of purely indigenous origin; it may have been influenced by Zoroastrianism. The Essenes had no private property. They believed in the highest possible purity and lived entirely for the life hereafter. The preparation of food was attended to by priests. They repudiated bloody sacrifices (EB 1396-1400).

In RT these three couplets appear between stanzas A and B of V. This may be due to the fact that each of those stanzas consists of three couplets with 3+3 beats in each line. Neither V nor X can be assigned to Micah. The present poem was not written about 700, but about 100 B.C. Similarly it is a mistake to suppose that Amos (about 750 B.C.) realized that JHWH is the God of the whole earth, and that he proclaims the doctrine: God chastises him whom He loves. The statement at the beginning of Am. 3,

For you alone do I care among all races of the land;
Therefore I visit upon you all your iniquities,

* Cf. the explanation of the story of Tamar (Gen. 38) in ZDMG 63, 518, l. 31.

which is said to inaugurate a new phase of religion, is a late gloss referring to the preceding chapter, not to the following section. Cf. the paper cited in n. 28 on I.

Mic. 6, 8 (X, iii) has been called *das Ei des Columbus*;^{*} but this term is hardly more appropriate than the name *capucinade* which has been given to 1, 9-16 (see conclusion of n. 1 on III). This *Ei des Columbus* is certainly later than the injunction (about 690 B.C.)† in Deut. 6, 5 (cf. 10, 12; 30, 6): *Thou must love Jahveh, thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength* or the precept (about 550 B.C.) in the *Law of Holiness* (Lev. 19, 18; cf. 34): *Thou must love thy neighbor as thyself*, and we know that *on these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets* (Matt. 22, 40). *There is none other commandment greater than these* (Mark 12, 31; cf. 33).‡

For the present poem cf. Pss. 15; 24, 3-6; 25, 12; 34, 12-15; 101; 112; 119, 9; also the gloss in v. 15 of the Maccabean poem Is. 33.

(2) Heaven; cf. Pss. 102, 20; 148, 1; Is. 33, 5; 57, 15.

(3) Cf. Pss. 40, 7; 50, 7-15; 51, 18, 19; 69, 32; 1 S 15, 22; Hos. 6, 6; Matt. 9, 13; 12, 7; Prov. 21, 3; Is. 1, 11-17; Jer. 7, 22, 23. See also the remarks on the late passage Am. 5, 23-27 in AJSL 26, 18.

(4) Cf. Lev. 9, 3 (also 23, 19 and Ex. 12, 5). Contrast Lev. 22, 27 (also Ex. 22, 29 and Deut. 15, 19). The statement in Ex. 34, 26 (cf. 23, 19; Deut. 14, 21)|| means: *Thou must not cook a kid at its mother's milk*,§ i.e. as long as it is under the dam (Lev. 22, 27). It must be at least a week old.**

(5) For oil (i.e. olive oil which was used instead of butter; cf. footnote to n. 8 on I) in connection with offerings cf. Lev. 2, 1. 2. 4-7, 15, 16; 14, 10, 12, 14-18. As a rule, the quantity of oil offered was not large. According to Lev. 14, 10 a leper †† who was cured of his disease had to offer, on the eighth day, two male lambs and one ewe-lamb, also three *issarons* ‡‡ of flour mixed with oil, and one *log* of oil. A *log* is about a pint. See the translation of *Leviticus*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 63,

* Cf. p. 488 of the work cited in the footnote to n. 65 on VIII.

† For the date of Deuteronomy see my remarks in OLZ 11, 119 (cf. 244). Contrast E. Naville, *La découverte de la loi sous le roi Josias* (Paris, 1910).

‡ Cf. also Rom. 13, 8-10; 1 Cor. 13, 13; Gal. 5, 14; Jas. 2, 8.

|| This is the passage on which the Jewish custom not to eat cheese after a meat-course (even if it should be meat from a male animal or a bird!) is based.

§ Cf. Syr. *bar hálvā*, *suckling*, *immár hálvā*, *suckling lamb*, French *agneau de lait*; also *veau de lait*, *cochon de lait* = sucking calf, sucking pig (Arab. *xinnáuṣ*).

** Contrast Frazer's explanation quoted in A. H. McNeille's *Erodus* (London, 1906) p. xiv.

†† There is not a single case of true leprosy in OT. The term *leprosy* denotes a variety of skin diseases, including psoriasis, scabies, luetic affections, &c., also leucoderma (Lev. 13, 12, 13) &c. See *Numbers* 45, below; cf. EB 2763-68.

‡‡ That is about 2¼ pints; see *Numbers* 44, 15.

l. 42; p. 77, l. 41, and Benzinger's *Hebr. Archaeologie* (1907) p. 193. Cf. also Gen. 28, 18; 35, 14.

(6) Lit. *as my sin* (-offering). The words for *sin* mean also *sin-offering* (i.e. *Entsündigung*, clearing from sin, expiation) and *punishment of sin* (cf. n. 8).

(7) According to some eminent exegetes this hemistich shows that this poem must have been composed in the time of Manasseh (2 K 21, 6). But this theory is about as reasonable as the idea that a poem containing the word *fratricidal* must have been written shortly after the murder of Abel (i.e. according to AV^m: B.C. 4003). Cf. n. 1 on V. The ancestors of the Hebrews may have sacrificed their first-born sons; cf. 2 K 3, 27; Gen. 22, 2; Ez. 20, 26; Ex. 22, 28 (contrast 13, 13^b, 15^b; 34, 20; Num. 18, 15). The passage 1 K 16, 34 does not refer to a foundation-sacrifice;* contrast EB 2063; Benzinger, *Hebr. Arch.* (1907) pp. 92, 364. Cf. also Jer. 7, 31; Ez. 16, 20; 20, 31; 23, 37, 39; 2 K 16, 3; 17, 17; 23, 10. See the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 135, l. 13; EB 1526; Baentsch's *Exodus* (1900) p. 90; McNeile's *Exodus* (1908) p. xli; Gunkel's *Genesis* (1910) p. 242; Skinner's *Genesis* (1910) p. 332.

(8) Lit. *as a guilt-offering of my soul or life*, to save my life. Without this guilt-offering the life of the offender would be forfeited. The offense in this case is a capital crime. The *sin-offering* (or *guilt-offering*) was originally a propitiatory gift; see the translation of *Leviticus*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 66, l. 13; contrast p. 67, l. 35.

(9) Lit. *the fruit of my belly or womb*, i.e. *a child of the wife* (or *wives*) *belonging to me*; cf. Deut. 7, 13; 28, 4, 11; 30, 9; Ps. 132, 11. The wife was regarded as the *field* (or *garden*) of her husband; see BL 96. In the Amarna Tablets† we often find the statement *my field is like a woman without a husband, because it is not cultivated*.‡ In the Talmud the verb *ḥarásš*, to plow is used of sexual intercourse; cf. also Lat. *sulcus*.

(10) Lit. *he* (i.e. *some one*) *has told thee* (n. 17 on III).

(11) That is *brotherly love*, craving for the welfare of another person (cf. 1 John 4, 12, 16).

(12) To be as godly as possible. Enoch and Noah walked with God (Gen. 5, 24; 6, 9) i.e. they had personal intercourse (or *fellowship*;

*The passage means simply: When Hiel laid the foundations of Jericho, his first-born son died, and when he set up the gates, he lost his youngest son. These deaths were due to the curse pronounced by Joshua. Cf. the translation of *Joshua*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 63, l. 51 and *Est.* 50, below. For the destruction of Jericho see my paper in the Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. 23, p. 357.

†Cf. the illustrated excursus on the Amarna Tablets, pp. 47-55 of the translation of *Joshua* in the Polychrome Bible.

‡Assyr. *eqli aššata ša lā muta mašil aššum bali iriši*; cf. Knudtson's edition, p. 394, l. 37; p. 423, l. 42.

1 John 1, 6) with Him, communed with Him. In Mal. 2, 6 this phrase has about the same meaning as *to walk before** God (Gen. 17, 1; 24, 40; 48, 15; 1 K 2, 4; 8, 25; 2 K 20, 3) or *to walk after God* (Deut. 13, 5; 1 K 14, 8; 2 K 23, 3=2 Chr. 34, 31) i.e. *to follow God*; cf. the conclusion of 2, 7 in II, aa.† In Arabic, *fi sabīl Allāh*, *in the path of God* means *for God's cause*, especially with reference to a holy war.

-(13) That is, good will, benevolence. The combination of the word in the text and the gloss is equivalent to our *loving-kindness*.

*Schumann said: Always play as if a master was listening to you. A captain might tell his soldiers: March as if you marched before the Emperor.

†In view of Mal. 2, 6 (*halāk itti*) it is possible that the original reading was *haholēkh itti*, and that the omission of both the article and the preposition is due to haplography. The preposition *eth* is synonymous with *'im* which may mean *like*. Gen. 4, 1: *qanithi iś eth-Iahveh* seems to mean *I have produced a man as well as Jahveh*; see *Genesis* 118, 28; contrast Skinner's *Gen.* (1910) p. 102.

SIGNS AND NAMES OF THE PLANET MARS

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The planet Mars is the unlucky planet *par excellence* in Babylonian-Assyrian astrology. Whereas in the case of the other planets, their brilliant appearance—technically described as “strong”¹—is a favorable sign, pointing to an increase in their beneficent character, and their dimmed appearance—described as “weak”²—is an unfavorable sign, in the case of Mars it is just the reverse. Mars is associated with Nergal,³ the solar god of midsummer bringing sickness, suffering, and death in his wake. Corresponding to the gloomy association with Nergal—the head of the pantheon of the domain of the dead—we have a large number of designations for Mars emphasizing the “unfavorable” associations with this planet.

There are three lists of names of Mars which are particularly suggestive. While two have been noticed by scholars there are some points connected with them that have not yet been cleared up, and the third has only recently been published in full. One of these lists is IIIR, 57, No. 6, 62–64⁴ which furnishes seven names as synonyms for ZAL-BAT (a-nu⁵)—the most common designation of the planet. These are

¹ ba'il, the contrast to which is unnu^t “weak.” See Jastrow, *Religion Babylonians und Assyriens*, II, 468, note 3.

² un-nu-ut. See preceding note.

³ Cf. e.g. Thompson, *Reports*, No. 232, obv. 8.

⁴ Now republished CT, XXXVI, 45 with a duplicate K 7625 (Pl. 46). See Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, 120, who, however, erroneously regarded the names at the time as designations of Mercury.

⁵ Read on the basis of VR, 46, No. 1, rev. 42, muš-ta-bar-ru mu-ta-nu which is evidently to be rendered “satiating with pestilence” in allusion to the death-dealing power of the unlucky planet. It is not, however, the name of the planet, for the terms in the second column of this text furnish explanations of the ideographic designations of planets and stars but not names; and some of the explanations, besides, are rather fanciful. In Thompson, *Reports*, No. 232, obv. 3—where at the beginning of the line Lu-BAT (as a designation of Mars) is to be supplied—an explanatory note adds a-na mu-ta-ni ka-bi “equivalent to mutanu” to indicate that Lu-BAT is here used for Mars. I am inclined to conclude from this that mutanu is the name of Mars. This, to be sure, may be an abbreviation of muštabarru mutanu, but it is also possible and to my mind more probable that the addition of ZAL to BAT (= mutu) gives to BAT the

UL MAN (MA) = šanumma⁶

UL a-ḫu-u

UL na-ka-ru

UL sar-ru

UL HUL = lum-num⁷

UL LUL-A = Ka⁸

UL NIM (-MA)⁹ = Elam

The other list which we have in two copies¹⁰ furnishes in addition to the phonetically written names, the ideographic equivalents. In all there are no less than twelve designations, as follows:

MUL BABBAR = pi-ṣu-u¹¹

MUL DIR = ma-ak-ru-u

MUL DIR = mi-ḫit i-ṣat

MUL HUL = lum-num

'=AN (ZAL-BAT a-nu)

= " " "

= " " "

force of mutanu, i.e., 'pestilence' as the intensive form from mûtu. See Jastrow in *Babylonica* III, 232, note 1, and *Religion*, II, 650, n. 16. In VR, 46, No. 1, rev. 41, LU-BAT is likewise to be regarded as a designation of Mars, and not of Mercury or of a planet in general as in common with all scholars I have hitherto supposed. Taken as a designation of Mars, we can now understand the explanation muš-mit bu-lim "killing cattle," for one of the most common omens connected with Mars is ḪA-A (= šaḫ-lū-uk-ti Thompson, No. 114, obv. 7) būli "destruction of cattle," e.g., Thompson, No. 88, rev. 3-4; 98, obv. 5-6 (phonetically written bu-u-li); 99, obv. 10-11; 100, obv. 7-rev. 1; 102, obv. 1-2 (bu-lim); 103, obv. 3-4; 167, obv. 5-6; 172, obv. 9; 195, rev. 1; 234 A, obv. 3-4. On LU-BAT as a designation of Mars as well as Saturn and Mercury and the means of distinguishing between them see below, p. 71. A reference to the seven names in our list (šiba zik-ru-šu) is perhaps to be seen in IIR, 52, No. 3, obv. 51, in a school text furnishing miscellaneous phrases of an astrological character.

⁶ So to be read on the basis of passages quoted in Meissner *SIA*, No. 7536 (to which *CT*, XX, 10, 4, Bossler, *Documents Assyriens*, 47, 2; Rm. 131, 1 and others could be added) and IIR, 49, No. 3, 37 where we have the phonetic writing ša-nu-um-ma for an ideographic designation akin to MAN = šanū.

⁷ So to be read according to IIR, 49, No. 3, 32.

⁸ So to be read according to the gloss ka-a in Thompson, No. 103, rev. 9, and not as has hitherto been supposed šēlibu "fox." On Ka as a destructive animal see Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 591, n. 9 and 605, n. 12.

⁹ So to be read according to the new edition *CT*, XXVI, 45, 17 as also in the other list IIR, 49, No. 3, 39. In the duplicate *CT*, XXVI, 46, the determinative Kī is added.

¹⁰ IIR, 49, No. 3 = IIR, 51, No. 2, 61-71. A more complete edition of the former text furnishing the continuation was given by Lenormant, *Choix des Textes Cuneiformes*, No. 23. See Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 120 f., and Hommel, *Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, p. 456.

¹¹ This, the "white" or "shining" star, might seem to belong to the names of Jupiter —so Jensen, *op. cit.*, 125—like the three preceding lines in IIR, 51, but on the basis of the equation in K 250, col. IV, 7 (*CT*, XXVI, 40)

MUL BABBAR = AN ZAL-BAT a-nu

may be added to the names of Mars. In the hymns to Nergal = Mars, published by King, *Babylonian Magic*, No. 42, 11, MUL BABBAR also occurs as a designation of Mars. In the later astronomical texts to be sure TE BABBAR = MUL-BABBAR is a designation of Jupiter. See Kugler, *Sternkunde*, I, 12.

MUL NU-ME-A = ba-lum	= AN (ZAL-BAT-a-nu)
MUL GALU-SA [GAZ] ¹² = ħab-ba-tum	= " " "
MUL LUL-LA = sa-ar-ru	= " " "
MUL GALU KUR-RA = na-kir	= " " "
MUL GALU KUR-RA = ša-nu-um-ma	= " " "
MUL UR-BAR-RA = a-ḥu-u	= " " "
MUL NIM-MA	= " " "
MUL GIG = MUL šib-ṭi NAM-BAT (MES) ¹³	= " " "

The third list K 4195—referred to by Jensen¹⁴—has now been published in full¹⁵ and of it, too, we have a duplicate, though only a bit of the latter is preserved.¹⁶ It is an even longer list than the second and though not fully preserved furnishes seventeen names as follows:

MUL HUL	= AN (ZAL-BAT-A-NU) ¹⁷
MUL LUL-A	= " "
MUL NIM-MA	= " "
MUL GALU SA-GAZ	= " "
MUL UR-BAR-RA	= " "
MUL ID-ḤU ¹⁸	= " "
MUL lu-um-nu	= " "
MUL SI-MU-TU	= " "
MUL LA-ŠIT (MES)	= " "
MUL APIN	= " "
MUL ŠUDUN ¹⁹	= " "

¹² So the duplicate IIR, 51, and K 4195, col. II, 4 (CT, XXVI, 42) clearly as against Lenormant's reading.

¹³ So IIR, 49, which appears to be more accurate here than Lenormant's reading nam-ti.

¹⁴ *Kosmologie*, 121 and 124.

¹⁵ CT, XXVI, 42-43—the obverse of which is a duplicate of cols. I to IV of K 250 (CT, XXVI, 40).

¹⁶ Only two lines of the "Mars" section are preserved CT, XXVI, 40, col. II, 16-17 (K 250)=42, col. II, 3-4. The remainder of col. II of K 250 and all of col. III are wanting.

¹⁷ Presumably to be supplied as in IIR, 49, No. 3.

¹⁸ To be read erū as shown by me, Jastrow, *JAOS*, XXX, 104, note 3. See also Sm 195, 2; 68, 5-23, 1 (in Bezold's *Catalogue*), and Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, 238, 2, and the equation e-ru-u = na-aš-ru (CT, XIV, 6 Rev. 9).

¹⁹ Brünnow, No. 10875, to be read ŠU-DU-UN as a designation of Mars according to the gloss Thompson, No. 238, obv. 1. This represents of course the "Sumerian" reading, as does the gloss to rev. 1 of this text. The other two glosses, however, in the text are Semitic. To judge from a comparison of the gloss MUL=ka-ak-ka-bu iṣ-ru-ur-ma (Thompson, No. 237, rev. 7) with the gloss MUL=mu-ul (Thompson, No. 238, rev. 1), it would appear that when used as a technical term, the sign for star was read as "Sumerian" MUL, whereas when employed in the general sense of star as in the phrase "a star sparkles" (kakkabu iṣrur) it was read as Semitic. See a remark on this point in the author's paper, "Sumerian glosses in Astrological Letters," *Babylonica*, III, 232, note 1, and Poebel, *Sumerische Personennamen*, § 33.

MUL ŠU-PA	=	AN (ZAL-BAT-A-NU)
MUL BAL-UR-A	=	" "
MUL UG ²⁰ -GA	=	" "
MUL BIR	=	" "
MUL NUN KI	=	" "
MUL UD KA-KAB-A ²¹	=	" "

These three lists are not of the same character. The first²² occurs in connection with an attempt to compile groups of seven heavenly bodies—seven tikpi stars,²³ seven LU-MA-ŠI stars,²⁴ seven maši stars²⁵ followed by the seven names of Mars and the seven LU-BAT (MES), i.e., moon, sun, and five planets,²⁶ preceded by other

²⁰ Brünnow, No. 4383.

²¹ Five additional designations broken off. At the top presumably four designations are to be supplied, corresponding to the first four names in IIIR, 57, No. 6, 62-64, since the three preserved, MUL LUL-A, and NIM-MA, correspond to the last three in this list. This would give us (1) MAN-MA; (2) UR-BAR-RA (=aḫū); (3) GALU-KUR-RA (=nakaru or nakir) and LUL-LA (=sa-ar-ru or sar-ru) but since UR-BAR-RA is found in line 5, we may substitute for this DIR which would probably not be wanting in so complete a list. This would give us 26 names or designations for Mars in this list.

²² Three copies, (1) K 250, col. v. (CT, XXVI, 41), (2) K 2067 (Pl. 45), (3) K 7625 (Pl. 46).

²³ (1) K 2067 (Pl. 45) 4-6=K 250 (Pl. 41) col. V, 10-13, broken off in K 7625. On these tikpi stars see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 57 and Hommel, *Abhandlungen*, etc., 422, though the latter's explanation of tikpi can hardly be correct. To judge from the value of ti-ki in the colophon to Ašurbanapal's tablets (see Jastrow, *JAO*, XXX, 110, note 3) tikpi stars must be "joined" stars of some sort—combined into a group.

²⁴ (1) K 2067, 7-10; (2) K 250, 14-18, broken off in K 7625.

²⁵ (1) K 2067, 11-15; (2) 250, 19-23; (3) K 7625 (parts of two lines preserved). For a ma-a-šu star see Virolleaud, *Ishlar*, No. XXV, 73, and Harper, *Assyrian Letters*, No. 519, rev. 4, in both passages with MUL AL-LUL. See Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 637, n. 7.

²⁶ The enumeration K 2067, 19-21 (broken off in the two duplicate texts) has always occasioned difficulty, for we actually find eight entries AN Šin, AN Šamaš, AN DUN-PA-UD-DU, AN DIL-BAT, MUL LU-BAT, MUL SAQ-US, AN LU-BAT-GU-UD and UL ZAL-BAT-A-NU. I had assumed—as no doubt did others—that the repetition of MUL before SAQ-US was an error and that we should read: MUL LU-BAT SAQ-US=Saturn, but the new edition confirms the reading in IIIR, 57. The explanation is simple enough if we assume that LU-BAT was originally a designation for either Mars, Saturn, or Mercury as set forth briefly in Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 663f., and it is here retained as a general designation, embracing therefore the following three: MUL SAQ-US, AN LU-BAT GU-UD and UL ZAL-BAT-A-NU. These three names represent as it were the specification of what was originally meant by LU-BAT. Originally only two planets, Jupiter and Venus, were differentiated, the remainder were designated merely as LU-BAT, which is never attached to any of the names of Jupiter or Venus. Afterwards, the three LU-BAT were differentiated, or rather at first only Mars and Saturn, so that LU-BAT came to be used for the residuum—Mercury, the smallest of the planets and the least important in Babylonian-Assyrian astrology. See also the writer's article "Sun and Saturn" (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, VII, 174f.). A trace of this original lack of differentiation between these three planets is to be seen in the occasional use of Mercury as a variant of Mars and the application of Mars omens to Mercury. See below, p. 71, and Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 668, n. 1, and 668, n. 3.

groups, such as the twelve stars for Akkad, for Amurru, etc.²⁷ Exactly why these seven names were chosen we will see later on.

Both copies of the second list furnish names and designations of the other planets—Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, and Mercury—but if one may judge from the one copy—IIR, 51, No. 2—the text is of a miscellaneous character, prepared for school purposes as an exercise to furnish explanations of names of rivers, planets, occupations, and the like. The Mars names therefore represent merely a selection. The third list, it is fair to presume, endeavoured to furnish an exhaustive list of all the designations of Mars occurring in astrological texts,²⁸ just as preceding the Mars list we have an equally long one for all the various forms of Venus-Ištar with names and attributes associated with her.²⁹

Taking this longest list as our base and combining it with the other two we obtain the following series of no less than twenty-four names and designations for the planet Mars.³⁰

MAN-MA OR GAL KUR-RA = ša-du-um.³¹ ma
 GALU KUR-RA = na-ka-ru or na-kir
 BABBAR = pi-ṣu-u
 DIR = ma-ak-ru-u
 DIR = mi-ḫit i-šat
 NU-ME-A = ba-lum
 LUL LA = sa-ar-ru or sar-ru
 GIG = sib-ṭi mutanē
 ḪUL = lum-num.³²
 LUL-A = Ka
 NIM-MA OR NIM-MA(KI) = Elam
 GALU SA-GAZ = ḫab-ba-tum
 UR-BAR-RA = a-ḫu-u

²⁷ So in one of the texts at least—K 250, of which reverse of K 8067 (Pl. 44) is a duplicate. By combining the two we obtain the twelve stars of Akkad and of Amurru and part of those of Elam. The left-hand column of rev. of K 8067 may have contained the remains of the twelve stars of Subartu.

²⁸ There are, however, others that might have been added.

²⁹ K 4195 (Pl. 42) col. I = K 250 (Pl. 40, col. I). The latter of these school texts is entirely taken up with astrological names and terms; the former contains on the reverse sign lists and synonyms, and other lexicographical material—based apparently on astrological texts and serving perhaps as a commentary to such texts.

³⁰ The first six names supplied from the first and second lists.

³¹ See above, p. 65.

³² I take lum-nu in the third list (l. 7) as identical with ḪUL (l. 1). The repetition may be due to an error.

Id-Hu = erû

Si-MU-TU = malû mûti(?)

La-ŠIT (MES) = la minâte

APIN

ŠUDUN = niru "yoke"

ŠU-PA

BAL-UR-A = kak-kab bal-tum (VR 46 No. 1. rev. 45)

UG-GA

BIR

NUN-KI = Eridu³³

UD KA-KA-BA = ūmu na'ri "river monster"
(VR 46 No. 1. rev. 43)

Let us next consider the question as to the actual occurrence of these designations in astrological texts. As our main source we have the fragments of the Anu-Enlil series known to us,³⁴ together with the extracts from this series or references thereto in the astrological reports³⁵ and in astrological letters included in Harper's *corpus*.³⁶ As a secondary source we have the school texts furnishing lists of stars, commentaries on astrological texts or explanations of terms and the like connected with such texts.³⁷

1. MAN-MA occurs in Thompson, No. 231, obv. 5 in a text dealing with Mars omens; and evidently ll. 7-8 furnish the explanation so frequently added in these extracts from the astrological collections, to wit, that "MAN-MA approaching the Twins" = ZAL-BAT-A-NU approaching this group. The same equation MAN-MA = ZAL-BAT-A-NU is also implied in No. 235, obv. 7 (=236 A, obv. 6) compared with obv. 1, while No. 84, rev. 7, is clearly to be supplemented according to No. 231, obv. 5-6. Similarly in No. 195, dealing with the relationship of Jupiter to Mars, MAN-MA rev. 5,

³³ Evidently so to be read as the planet of Eridu, just as Jupiter-Marduk is the planet of Babylon.

³⁴ First published by Craig, *Astronomical-Astrological Texts*, and again in a vastly improved edition with many additional fragments by Virolleaud *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne* (4 parts of texts and 4 parts of transliterations). M. Virolleaud is now issuing a supplement containing additional fragments copied by him from the originals in the British Museum.

³⁵ Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon* (London, 1900, 2 vols.). The word "magician" in the title is a misnomer.

³⁶ *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (London, 1909, 9 vols.). See Jastrow, II, 504, note, for a list of the astrological letters in the first eight volumes to which those of vol. 9 are to be added.

³⁷ E.g. IIR, Pl. 47-49.

is the equivalent of ZAL-BAT-A-NU which occurs obv. 1-6 and rev. 2-4.³⁸ The source whence the sign entered in No. 231, obv. 5 and No. 84, rev. 7 is taken:

enuna MAN-MA ana MAŠ-TAB-BA itḫi šarru imāt

is Virolleaud, *Ishtar* No. XXV, 32, whereas the omen in No. 195, rev. 5-6:

enuma SAG-ME-GAR ana MAN-MA itḫi,³⁹ ina šatti šiāti šar māt Akkad imāt-ma ebūr māti išir

is taken from *Ishtar*, Nos. XXIV, 18, and XXV, 35, only that here the order is reversed.

Incidentally, therefore, the extract furnishes the proof that MAN-MA is equivalent to Mars. The long list of MAN-MA signs in *Ishtar*, No. XXIV, 10-23 therefore refers to Mars, just as do the other designations in this text—UD KA-KAB-A, SI-MU-TU and UG-GA (ll. 1-9). Included in this series also are the two signs MAN-MA approaching the Twins (l. 11) and approaching Jupiter (l. 18); and since l. 15 furthermore furnishes the sign with the interpretation found in Thompson No. 184, obv. 6-7, we have the proof that here too—and therefore everywhere—MAN-MA is used as a designation of Mars. As to the reading ša-nu-um-ma furnished in the second list (above, p. 68) for GALU-KUR-RA, there can be no doubt that MAN-MA is likewise so to be read, since Meissner, *SAI*, No. 7536 furnishes the equation

MAN=šanū.⁴⁰

MAN-MA is therefore a synonym of GALU-KUR-RA in the sense of "hostile one" (nakir). Literally it means "another" and its use in an unfavorable sense suggests the Talmudic expression דָּבַר אֲחֵר for "swine" and Aḥer as a designation of the apostate Elisha ben Abujah—both in the sense of something "bad." Similarly אִשְׁתֵּי אֲחֵרִי "another woman" designates in Talmudic usage the "wife of a gentile."⁴¹ We may therefore regard šanumma "another" as a semi-euphemistic designation of the unlucky planet to avoid the ill omen involved in mentioning his real name.

³⁸ The same text contains two further names of Mars (a) sarru (obv. 8) and (b) LU-BAT-DIR, rev. 1. See below and Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 647.

³⁹ šu in Thompson's text is superfluous or a slip for ḫi.

⁴⁰ See above, p. 65, n. 6.

⁴¹ For all these passages see Jastrow, *Talmudic Dictionary*, 41.

2. It is probably merely accidental that the writing GALU KUR-RA=šanumma or na-ka-ru or na-kir has not been met with in astrological texts.

3. BABBAR=pišu "white" is not found in astrological texts, but since "dark," "white," "green," and "dark red" occur in connection with descriptions of Mars, e.g., Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXIV, 2-5, there is no reason—apart from what was said above, p. 65—to question that Mars was also called the "white" planet in the sense of the "brilliant" one, and that the designation was also actually employed.

4. DIR or the fuller form LU-BAT DIR is a frequent designation of Mars in astrological texts. The proof that it is the equivalent of Mars is furnished by the direct statement in Thompson, No. 146, rev. 6 and 195, rev. 2,

^{MUL} LU-BAT DIR = ^{AN} ZAL-BAT-a-nu

The same conclusion is to be drawn from No. 233, obv. 4, where LU-BAT-DIR occurs in a report dealing with Mars omens. The equation DIR = ^{MUL} ZAL-BAT-A-NU occurs also Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. VI, 26, and there can be no doubt therefore that DIR in No. VII, 64 is likewise the planet Mars, as well as in No. XXV, 72 and 74. A long list of LU-BAT-DIR signs with their interpretations is also found *Ishtar*, No. XX, 53-62 in an extensive tablet dealing in part with the planet Mars under various designations. As the equivalent to DIR, the second list (see above) furnishes ma-ak-ru-u and mi-ḳit išati. The meaning of the latter is clear. The term miḳit is from maḳātu "to throw down," for which the ordinary ideograph is RU.⁴² The phrase, therefore, "fire destruction" or "firebrand," is an appropriate allusion to the "fiery" color that Mars exhibits. This would also accord with the common value of DIR as sâmu "dark red" (Brünnow, No. 3745). It is obvious therefore that makrû must have some similar meaning. Jensen's view (*Kosmologie*, 119) that it is related to magâru "to be favorable" and that it is therefore a euphemistic expression for "unfavorable" is most unlikely. Euphemistic tendencies would hardly go so far.

⁴² See CT, XXVI, 40, col. IV, 11 ^{MUL} DIR = RU (tim) = miḳit išati and Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. VIII, (=IIIIR 53, No. 2), 16. RU with the force of maḳātu or nadû is very common in omen texts. See Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 317, n. 4.

Moreover ma-ak-ru-u occurs a number of times as the designation of Mars in place of the ideograph,⁴³ so that the consistent spelling speaks against taking the second consonant as *g*. Makrû may be derived from karû like ma-al-tu (=maštu) from šatû and since karû is a common term for "to oppress," makrû would be the "oppressor," which like nakir, "hostile," would be an appropriate designation for the planet that brings woe and destruction to man and beast.

5. NU-ME-A=ba-lum does not occur in the astrological texts so far published, but such a designation as "not being" in the sense of "worthless"⁴⁴ would fit in admirably with the conceptions of Mars as the planet that extinguishes life. The term may also be interpreted as a euphemistic one, to avoid the real name and to voice the hope that the planet might not be active—be wiped out, as it were.

6. LUL-LA=sa-ar-ri or sar-ru. While the ideographic form does not occur in the astrological reports, the phonetic writing ^{MUL}sa-ar-ri is found in Thompson, No. 195, obv. 3, in a text referred to above⁴⁵ which treats of Jupiter and Mars under various designations. There can therefore be no doubt that the omen about SAG-ME-GAR and sarru refers to Jupiter and Mars. In the astrological school text (Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXV, 18) we read that

"^{MUL}LUL-LA points to the approach of a storm (LUL-LA ana tibût šâri)"

and an explanatory remark apparently equates LUL-A=AL-LUL. In this case, however, as in others, the equation merely wishes to indicate that what applies to LUL-LA also holds good for AL-LUL,

⁴³ Besides the above passage Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXIV, 6, as the explanation of ^{MUL}UG-GA as a designation of Mars; XX, 98 (in a series of Mars omens); XXIX, 16 (with GU-UD=Mercury). Note that *Ishtar*, VIII, 16 it is explained as šum ZAL-BAT-A-NU, i.e., "the name of Mars." Cf. also No. XXXIX, 16. In IIIR, 53, No. 2, 6 ma-ak-ru-u is the designation also of Jupiter in the 5 month following upon dapinu "the fearful one," to which the parallel text CT, XXVI, 49, 6, however, adds the equation Zal-Bat-a-nu.

⁴⁴ See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, 159. Jensen's explanation (*Kosmologie*, 124) that it refers to the circumstance that the planet is "not visible" falls to the ground since his assumption that Mercury is meant—which is only rarely visible—turns out to be erroneous.

⁴⁵ See also Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 646, n. 3.

to wit, that the latter also points to the approach of a storm.⁴⁶ A designation "rebellious one" is appropriate for a planet like Mars.

7. I have not come across any instance of ^{MUL}GIG in astrological texts. A designation "planet of sickness" (maruštu Brünnow, No. 9237) would, however, fit in with the death-dealing power of Mars, and the phrase šib-ši mutanê which is entered as the phonetic equivalent to GIG clearly contains an allusion to this quality of Mars. The first word from šabātu (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, 1002) "strike," means a "blow" and is used for "slaughter" and even "pestilence." The second term adds further force and the two may be rendered "death-spreading pestilence" or "death-dealing blows."

8. ^{HUL}=lum-num or lum-nu, occurs Virolleaud, *Shamash*, No. XIII, 23, with the express indication

$$\text{MUL } \text{HUL} = \text{AN } \text{ZAL-BAT-A-NU}^{47}$$

so that there is no doubt of the use of the term as another designation of the planet Mars, emphasizing again his power for inflicting evil.

9. LUL-A=Ka occurring in a report (Thompson, No. 103, rev. 9) dealing exclusively with Mars omens, there is no doubt as to the identification, and this is borne out by its occurrence⁴⁸ in an astrological school text (Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXV, 20) between LUL-LA=Mars and ZAL-BAT-A-NU=Mars.

10. NIM-MA or NIM-MA (KI)=Elam occurs Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXV, 27

$$\text{MUL } \text{NIM-MA} \text{ ana kušši}$$

i.e., "Elam star points to cold" with the explanatory equation

$$\text{MUL } \text{NIM-MA} = \text{MUL } \text{ZAL-BAT-A-NU}.$$

⁴⁶ That AL-LUL cannot be Mars follows from combination of this star with Mars, e.g., Thompson, 21 A, (Mars goes out of AL-LUL); 236, obv. 1 (Mars enters AL-LUL) 236 A, obv. 6 (Mars approaches AL-LUL), etc. AL-LUL appears to be Cancer. So Thompson, II, p. xxxv.

⁴⁷ With a variant GU-UD = Mercury, as elsewhere Mars and Mercury appear as variants. See Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 668, n. 3.

⁴⁸ LUL-A is here explained as prognosticating "destruction of houses" (ana bitāti bu-ul-lu-lim) which suggests that the reading in IIR, 49, No. 4, 42 should be bu-la-a-ti ina mātī-, etc. This list—likewise a school text—arranges the stars according to their meanings: (1) names of animals, (2) stones, (3) metals, (4) insects; and adds (like Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXV) the interpretations in brief form. The passage Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXV, 67 where it is said that "in the month of Adar, the stars, Īa and LUL-A reach MAN-MA" will be discussed later on.

In view of this, "the star of the land of Elam" (Virolleaud, *Ishlar*, No. XXXIX, 3) is probably to be identified with ^{MUL}NIM-MA.⁴⁹ That the unlucky planet should be associated with the hostile land to the east of Babylonia is natural, though we also find Mars designated as the star of Amurru, e.g., Thompson, No. 101, rev. 2 and 107, rev. 5:

^{MUL}ZAL-BAT-A-NU = kakkab mât Amurru

while No. 167, rev. 6 the same planet is apparently designated as the "Star of Subartu." All these countries—Elam, Amurru, and Subartu—represented hostile countries at the time when the Anu-Enlil series was compiled, so that an identification with all three is not surprising. Saturn is also called like Mars "the star of Amurru," e.g., Thompson, No. 167, rev. 9.⁵⁰ In No. 107, rev. 6 where Mars is associated with Elam, the omen is interpreted as "evil for Amurru and Elam," showing that the planet was applied to both countries.

11. GALU SA-GAZ = ḡabbatum "plunderer" does not occur in the astrological texts so far published, but the designation is just of the kind again that we should expect for a planet like Mars—of the same character therefore as the designations "hostile," "evil," "rebellious," "good for nothing," and the like.

12. UR-BARRA, aḫû "jackal"—likewise an appropriate name for a planet that brings destruction and woe—is found, Thompson, No. 236 H, obv. 5 and 237, obv. 4-5 and in both cases identified with ZAL-BAT-A-NU. In view of this we may complete No. 234 A, obv. 6-7 in the same way; and similarly we find UR-BARRA so equated in Virolleaud, *Ishlar*, No. XXX, 7. In accord with this identification the star UR-BARRA is interpreted (IIR, 49, No. 4, 41) as pointing to "overthrow in the land" (na-aš-pan-ti ina mâtî) while VR 46, No. 1, obv. 2 UR-BARRA is identified with Anu, which in the later astronomical texts is the common designation of Mars.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Exactly how Virolleaud, *Ishlar*, No. XXV, 29 is to be explained where ^{MUL}NIM-MA is apparently equated with NIN-A-ZU, bēl irṣitî, I do not know.

⁵⁰ In view of this, we must probably read Amurru in No. 107, rev. 7. See Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 662, n. 14.

⁵¹ Kugler, *Sternkunde*, I, 12. Note, however, that ^{MUL}A-NU is found also in astrological texts, e.g., Thompson, No. 106, obv. 2; Harper, No. 519, rev. 13; Virolleaud, *Ishlar*, No. XXV, 72 and 73 ^{MUL}A-NIM = ^{MUL}LU-LIM, for which see Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 658, n. 8, and ^{ANA}A-NIM = ^{MUL}AL-LUL. See Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 658, n. 8.

13. ID-ĤU=erû "eagle." A list of ID-ĤU omens is found Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXIII, 15-23 and according to l. 22 is apparently equated with LU-BAT which may here as so frequently = Mars. On the other hand, *Ishtar*, No. XXX, 4 ID-ĤU is distinctly equated with ^{AN}GU-UD = Mercury. We have therefore a designation that is applied to both Mars and Mercury. Now ID-ĤU as we know from other sources (IIIR 57, No. 6) is the name of one of the maši stars, though whether it is identical with our "eagle" constellation, as Hommel supposes,⁵² I am unable to decide. According to the "Astrolab" Sm 162, it is one of the three constellations whose heliacal rise is set down for the 10th month.⁵³ To judge from the so-called Dilbat tablet⁵⁴ in which the planet is designated by the star having its heliacal rise in a certain month, it was customary to substitute for the planets, stars or constellations taking their rise in any special month, and such a designation might stand for either Mars, Mercury, Saturn, or Venus. Jensen⁵⁵ already noticed this peculiarity of Babylonian-Assyrian astrology, and Kugler has recently again called attention to it.⁵⁶ Putting the data together to be gathered from equations registered in the Anu-Enlil series and in Thompson's *Astrological Reports*, we obtain a large number of such instances, among them the following:

MUL ŠU-PA ("spica") = Mars (Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXX, 2)

MUL MUL ("speer") = Mars (Thompson, No. 223 A, obv. 9⁵⁷)

MUL APIN = Mars (Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. V, 16-17, and Thompson, No. 239)

= Mercury (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXX, 17)

MUL DILGAN = Mars (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXX, 11 and 13; IIR 39, No. 5, 64)

MUL DILGAN = Venus (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. VIII, 4) in 11th month. Cf. Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 682, n. 3.

MUL DILGAN = Jupiter (IIIR 53, No. 2, 4 in 3rd month)

MUL DILGAN = Mercury (IIR 57, rev. 46 = CT, XXV, 13, col. iv, 3)

⁵² *Abhandlungen*, 420. See Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 124. ⁵³ Kugler, *Sternkunde*, I, 229.

⁵⁴ Kugler, *loc. cit.*, and Hommel, *Abhandlungen*, 467. Kugler (*op. cit.*, 231) fails to recognize that these twelve designations are actually applied to the planet Dilbat, just as Jupiter, according to IIIR 53, No. 2 = CT, XXVI, 49 (Sm 777 obv.) has twelve designations.

⁵⁵ *Kosmologie*, 150-51.

⁵⁶ *Sternkunde*, II, 13 and 121. See Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 667, n. 2, and 669, n. 14.

⁵⁷ But No. XXX, 7, not Mars.

- MUL ID-ḪU** ("eagle") = Mars (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXX, 4)
MUL Šir ("serpent") = Mars (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXX, 28)
MUL UD KA-KAB-A = Mars (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXX, 8 and 15⁵⁷)
MUL ŠUDUN = Mars (Thompson, No. 107, rev. 4)
MUL ŠUDUN = Mercury (Thompson, No. 238)
 (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXI, 1-8; 12, 16-27; 41)
MUL ŠUDUN = Jupiter (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXI, 8-10; 12-14; 18-19)
MUL KAK-SI-DI ("Beteigeuze") = Mercury (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXX, 24)
MUL ḪA = Mercury (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXX, 1 and 12. Cf. Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 682, n. 2)
MUL EA = Mercury (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXI, 43-44)
MUL BIR = Mercury (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXI, 31-40)
MUL NUN-KI = Mercury (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXI, 45-46)
 = Mars (below, p. 80)
MUL NU-MUŠ-DA = Mercury (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXVIII, 12-13)
MUL BAN ("Bowstar") = Venus (VR 46, No. 1, 23)
MUL UZA = Venus (Thompson, No. 207, rev. 7)
MUL MU-SIR-KEŠDA = Venus (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. XXX, 17)
MUL AL-LUL = Saturn (Thompson, No. 90, obv. 6 and 9; 114A, etc.)
MUL MAŠ-TAB-BA GAL-GAL ("the two great twins") = Jupiter and Saturn
 (Virolleaud, *ibid.*, No. VII, 45)

The stars or constellations in question being such as occur in lists furnishing the heliacal rise of stars for the various months, the conclusion seems justified that according as some planet—Mars, Venus, Mercury, Saturn or Jupiter—is *near* them the star in question may be substituted for the planet. This supposition would account for the fact that the same star appears as a substitute for two or more planets, e.g., **DILGAN** for either Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, or Venus.

We must therefore distinguish between cases where the star or constellation is meant and where it stands for a planet. Thus Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXVIII, 21 where we read that "The star **KAK-SI-DI** ("Beteigeuze") reaching (**ikšud**) **ID-ḪU** in the 4th month, means that sesame will thrive," there is no reason to suppose that the planet is meant, since the omen is explained as signifying that "KAK-SI-DI and ID-ḪU are seen together."⁵⁸

14. **SI-MU-TU** is identified with **ZAL-BAT-A-NU** in the school text IIR, 48, No. 1, rev. 54 (=CT, XIX, 19⁵⁹) and one might be tempted

⁵⁸ See also Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXV, 64 where **ID-ḪU** is mentioned in an explanatory line with **GULA**, **AL-LUL**, etc.

⁵⁹ In IIR obv. and rev. are exchanged.

in fact to regard it as a phonetic reading⁶⁰ but for the fact that in the long list in which it occurs (K 4195—above, p. 66) we encounter ideographic designations exclusively. Omens regarding the various colors of SI-MU-TU are found Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXIV, 2-5. Is at least the second element in the name to be taken phonetically, as "death," so that SI-MU-TU would be "fixing death" or "full of death" on the basis of the astrological commentary IIR 39, No. 5, 47 SI=sa-a-mu "fix, determine" or ma-lu-u "full"?

15. LA-SIT (MEŠ) I have not found in astrological texts. It is presumably to be read "la mināti" and since the expression seems to be synonymous with la adannu and la simanu⁶¹ a translation "unseasonable" is naturally suggested and would likewise be an appropriate designation for a planet whose sheen was regarded as an unfavorable omen in contrast to the other planets, which when they appeared in brilliant form were looked upon as prognosticating good events. In every respect Mars was an "unseasonable" and "abnormal" planet.

16. The identification of APIN with Mars (recognized by Thompson, II, p. liv) is directly registered in the explanatory remark in Thompson, No. 103, rev. 4-6: "APIN reaching the ecliptic=ZAL-BAT-A-NU reaching LU-BAT-SAG-UŠ" (Saturn⁶²). Similarly in No. 272, rev. 3 we must supply ^{AN}ZAL-BAT-A-NU ina libbi [^{MUL}aḫrabi] "Mars in the Scorpion" as the explanation of rev. 1: "When APIN approaches the Scorpion," and again in No. 239, rev. 6:

ZAL-BAT-A-NU a-na ^{MUL}aḫrabi iṭḫi

as the equivalent (obv. 1) of

enuna ^{MUL}APIN ana ^{MUL}GIR-TAB (=aḫrabi) iṭḫi

from which two passages we therefore conclude

APIN = ZAL-BAT-A-NU = Mars.

⁶⁰ Like in the preceding lines da-pi-nu = Jupiter, lu-lim = Saturn, bi-lb-bu = Mercury.

⁶¹ See e.g. Virolleaud, *Sin*, No. III, 24-31. The three synonymous expressions were differentiated to the extent that la minātu was applied to the opposition of moon and sun on the 12th and 13th day (i.e., too early), la adannu when opposition did not take place on the 14th day (normal period) but on the 15th or 16th day (too late) and la simanu for a belated disappearance of the moon at the end of the month or a belated opposition on the 15th or 16th day, but these distinctions are of course arbitrary and artificial, prompted by the natural desire to use brief technical expressions in astrological collections.

⁶² ḫarran šamaš is here used for Saturn in connection with the frequent use of Sun for Saturn. See the author's paper "Sun and Saturn," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, VII, 165.

This conclusion is confirmed by the explanatory remark Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. V, 17, l. 16: "When Dilbat approaches APIN, defeat will ensue," which is explained as equivalent to "approaching ZAL-BAT-A-NU." On the other hand, APIN in Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXX, 17 appears to be used for Mercury as in the case of ID-ĤU (above p. 75) and this raises a doubt with reference to the same text ll. 11 and 19. In the later case, however, the chances are in favor of APIN=Mars.⁶³ How APIN is to be read phonetically we do not know, but the meaning of to "plant" (êrêšu, Brünnow Nos. 1023 and 1032) and cognate meanings are so common that some association with planting time seems to be intended. Apin would therefore appear to be some star or constellation taking its heliacal rise in a spring month and used as a substitute for a planet that is near to it—for Mars or Mercury at all events. Its use as a name for Mars or Mercury belongs to the same category, therefore, as ID-ĤU.

17. ŠUDUN, the ideographic reading of which sign (Brünnow No. 10875) is furnished by the gloss ŠU-DU-UN to Thompson, No. 238, obv. 1, is equated with Mars in Thompson, No. 107, rev. 4, but since No. 238, where ŠUDUN occurs (obv. 1), is taken up with Mercury omens, the sign in this report seems to refer to Mercury and it may be therefore that in Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXI, 1-8,⁶⁴ 12, 16-27, 41, ŠUDUN likewise stands for Mercury, just as BIR in this text is a designation of Mercury, though elsewhere used for Mars.⁶⁵ In fact it would appear from the explanatory remarks in this text ll. 10-11 and 14-15 that ŠUDUN is used for either Jupiter⁶⁶ or Mercury; and this would carry with it that ŠUDUN in Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXI, 94 and XXII, 5 = Mercury or Jupiter since the colophon to No. XXII, shows that No. XXI is a continuation of No. XXII.

⁶³ The explanatory remark reads "ZAL-BAT-A-NU in AL-LUL" which suggests that the first part of the line is to be completed "MUL (AL-LUL) approaches APIN" so that APIN=ZAL-BAT-A-NU. For line 11, however, we are in doubt whether the explanatory remark means DIL-GAN = ZAL-BAT-A-NU, or APIN = ZAL-BAT-A-NU. According to the commentary to an astrological text IIR, 39, No. 5, 64, DIL-GAN=ZAL-BAT-A-NU, though it is also IIR 57, rev. 3 entered as=LU-BAT GU-UD=Mercury.

⁶⁴ On the basis of ll. 8 and 12, Virolleaud, *Sin*, No. XIX, 3-4 is to be completed accordingly. See also the colophon to Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXII, 8, and cf. KK 7039, 12290 and 12416, dealing with ŠUDUN omens.

⁶⁵ See above, p. 75, and below, p. 80.

⁶⁶ Ll. 2 and 18-19 also seem to equate ŠUDUN=SAG-ME-GAR (Jupiter)

The ordinary phonetic value of ŠUDUN is ni-ru "yoke" (Brünnow No. 10877) and since this reading occurs

α ^{AN}LI-ru (Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXVI, 12)

β ^{MUL}LU-BAT ni-ru (XXXIII, 11)

there is no reason to question that ŠUDUN as the name of a star, used as a substitute for a planet, is so to be read and so to be interpreted. The equation

$$\text{ŠUDUN} = \text{ni-ru}$$

is further supported by the circumstance that *Ishtar*, No. XXV, 62 and 71 we have BIR and ŠUDUN corresponding to BIR and ni-ru in No. XXVI, 12. Again, since ^{MUL}LU-BAT ni-ru occurs in *Ishtar*, No. XXXIII, in a series of Mercury omens, we have the further proof that ŠUDUN = Mercury and is probably so to be interpreted in the passage in question.⁶⁷ So also Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXXI, 7 ŠUDUN being preceded by BIR and followed by (^{MUL}) Marduk-Jupiter, presumably stands for Mercury. How ŠUDUN is to be taken in No. XXVIII, 23 is doubtful. We have therefore in the case of the "yoke" star another instance of a designation applied to more than one planet.

18. ŠU-PA is explained as ZAL-BAT-A-NU, i.e., Mars in Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXX, 2 and as such the phonetic reading is presumably na-am-ru "brilliant" as furnished by VR 46, No. 1, rev. 52.⁶⁸ It is identified by Hommel with Spica and so accepted by Kugler (*Sternkunde*, I, 251). We have therefore another instance of a constellation used as a substitute for a planet.

19. BAL-UR-A occurs Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXV, 30 where it is qualified as the "messenger of Tišpak." That a planet is meant is shown by the statement that it "approaches the Scorpion," and since the text deals largely with Mars omens, there is no reason to question the identification with Mars. According to VR 46, No. 1, obv. 10, however, it is explained as ^{AN}NA-NA-A, i.e., the goddess Nana, which reminds one of the identification of ŠUDUN with

⁶⁷ The fragmentary condition of Thompson, No. 237 A, where ŠUDUN occurs twice does not permit us to decide which planet is meant in this case. Note also (an)ni-ru in Virolleaud, Supplement No. XL, 17.

⁶⁸ Cf. also obv. 11—a discussion of which passage would lead one too far afield. Note that ^{MUL}ŠU-PA also occurs three times in a "liver" omen text, Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, 13, 12-13. Is na-m-ru (Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXV, 39) also to be taken as the phonetic equivalent of ŠU-PA?

Gula. The explanation *kakkab baltum* "star of fertility" (VR. 46, No. 1. rev. 45) is clearly fanciful.

20. UG-GA occurs Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXIV, 6-9 (also Sm 1154) in a text of Mars omens and is apparently explained as *ma-akr[u-u]* for which see above p. 71. It is, however, the name of a constellation (Kugler, *op. cit.*, 229, No. V) and is therefore used as a substitute for a planet. Since a common value of UG is *mātu* "die," the designation would be of the same order as a number that we have already encountered such as *ŠI-MU-TU*, "fixing death" (?), *šibti mutanê*, "death-dealing blow." The identification with *makrû* would show that UG-GA is a synonym of DIR and in accord with this we find UG-GA (Brünnow No. 4385) like DIR (Brünnow No. 3723) having the value of *adâru* "to be dark, in terror," and the like.⁶⁹

21. BIR occurs Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXV, 62 (BIR reached ŠUDUN) and is entered as equivalent to ^{MUL}NUN-KI, the star of Eridu, which is one of the designations of Mars⁷⁰ or Mercury.⁷¹ On the other hand, *Ishtar*, XXI, 31-40, BIR is explained (ll. 34, 37, and 40) as ^{AN}GU-UD=Mercury—which shows that it is a star or constellation used as a substitute for a planet like BIR with Mercury. So, e.g., Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXI, 45-46, Mercury being the god Nebo who belongs as the son of Marduk to the Eridu group of gods, the association with Nun-Ki=Eridu the old city at the head of the Persian Gulf—the starting-point of the Ea and Marduk cults—is what we should have expected. The occurrence in the long list of Mars names is therefore our sole authority for assuming that like BIR, ID-ĤU, UG-GA, etc., it was also applied to the unlucky planet. The association with the Persian Gulf is also involved in the explanation given of the star NUN-KI in VR 46, No. 1, rev. 1 as *MU-SIR A-AB-BA*, i.e., "ruler of the sea."

22. UD KA-KAB-A "the monster of the open mouth," explained VR 46, No. 1, rev. 43 as *u-mu na-a-ri* "monster of the stream" is identified with *ZAL-BAT-A-NU*, Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXX, 8 and

⁶⁹ Perhaps in view of this association with DIR the sign is to be read DIRIG which is the fuller form of DIR (Brünnow, Nos. 3717-18). The god UG-GA (or DIRIG-GA) occurs in the Creation epic, Tablet IV, 120.

⁷⁰ See below, p. 80.

⁷¹ See above, p. 71.

15 and this equation is confirmed in a list of Mars names, *Ishtar*, No. XXI, 1. At the same time in Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, No. XXX, 7 Ud Ka-Kab-A cannot be Mars, since Ur-Barra is here equated with Mars. We have therefore again some fixed star used to designate the planet. The designation occurs also Virolleaud, *Sin*, No. XIII, 4, 13, 15-16, 26, and 28—in the last-named passage again equated with Mars. The explanation of the name places the designation in the same category with aḥû “jackal.”

From our examination of these various designations for Mars it is evident that we must separate them into two large divisions: (1) genuine appellations applying to Mars only, and (2) stars or constellations used as substitutes for planets in accordance with the explanation above given.

Beginning with this second class, the following belong to this category: LUL-A, ID-ḤU, APIN, ŠUDUN, BIR, NUN-KI; and this list could be further extended, since ŠU-PA, BAL-UR-A, MUL-MUL, ŠIR, UG-GA are also employed in the same way. If a conclusion may be drawn from lists furnishing twelve designations for Jupiter⁷² and the same number for Venus,⁷³ it would appear that every planet could be designated by a different name for each month. It does not, however, follow that all designations in these lists represent constellations taking their heliacal rise near the planet in the month in question. So, e.g., in the Jupiter list three of the names—DUN-PA-UDDU, SAG-ME-GAR, and NIBIRU—refer to the position of the planet in his course. Others, like rabû “great,” dapinu “the terrible one,” and makrû “the oppressor”(?) (also applied to Mars, see above, p. 72) are descriptive epithets, while only a number like DIL-GAN (with the comment bâb ilâni “gate of the gods”) šarru (“Regulus”) ḤA Ea “Fish of Ea”—the fuller designation apparently of the ḤA or Fish constellation—and rab-bu are stars or constellations used as substitutes for the planet.

In the case of the Dilbat tablet, on the other hand, we can be quite certain that all except the designation for the first month NIN-DAR-AN-NA represent constellations taking their heliacal rise

⁷² IIIR 53, No. 2. For the first six months the names are introduced by MUL, for the last six as UL. That these names were actually used is shown by the comments in Thompson, No. 94, obv. 7, rev. 1. See Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 489.

⁷³ Dilbat tablet.

in the months named. As for the first name, which occurs, e.g., as the designation of the planet Venus throughout the text Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, Nos. XII, and XIII, to judge from *Ishtar*, No. XXV, 34, where Nin-Dar is used for Mars (ZAL-BAT-A-NU), it also belongs to this category.

We have a list of twelve names for the planets Mercury and Saturn⁷⁴—six for the former and six for the latter and among them the following which represent constellations and stars: DIL-GAN, KAK-SI-DI, EN-TE-NA-MAŠ-SIG, ID-ĤU, ZIBANITU,⁷⁵ while others seem to be synonyms of Ninib, with which Saturn is identified. So, e.g., NIN-A-ZU, NIR-GIR-SU = KA-DI—solar deities identified with Ninib. In this list no distribution among the months is indicated, but the number twelve suggests such a division, and the bunching of the names for Mercury and Saturn suggests that all twelve could be used for either the one or the other planet. Be this as it may be, the existence of lists of twelve names for Jupiter and Venus carries with it the assumption that similarly in the case of the remaining three planets—at one time promiscuously grouped under LU-BAT—there were different designations for each of the months, and that some of these designations at all events represent constellations or especially bright single stars used for the one planet or the other.

I am also inclined to interpret the enumeration of 12 stars or constellations for the various countries in the same way as based on a division for the various months of the year.⁷⁶

As genuine designations of Mars emphasizing the morose character of the planet, and his power for evil, there remain the following, which we may divide into the four classes:

⁷⁴ IIR 57, rev. 1-12=CT, XXV, 13 col. IV, 1-12.

⁷⁵ The text has MUL MI=zi-ba-ni-tu.

⁷⁶ The twelve stars for Amurru (CT, XXVI, 41, col. V, 3-8) are all constellations whose heliacal rise is recorded in the tablets grouped by Kugler, *Sternkunde*, I, 229-330, and with the help of these lists we can set up the following equations: DILGAN=Nisan; (1st month) ŠU-GI=Aīru (2d month); KAK-SI-DI=Dū'uzu (4th month); MAŠ-TAB-BA GAL-GAL=Abu (5th month); BIR=Ulul (6th month); NIN-MAG=Tašrit (7th month); ŠARRU=Arahšamna (8th month); ZAL-BAT-A-NU=Kislew (9th month); AL-LUL=Tebet (10th month); NAM-MAH=Sebat (11th month); LUL-A=Adar (12th month). For the third month (Siwan) the entry is SIR, which, alone, is not represented in any of the lists. In the same way CT, XXVI, 44 rev. gives us the twelve constellations for Elam and Akkad which we can partially complete and identify with the two other series in the Astrolab (Sm 162) which furnishes three constellations for each month, one therefore for Elam, one for Akkad, and one for Amurru.

a) DESCRIPTIVE OF THE PLANET'S HOSTILITY

GALU KUR-RA=nakaru or nakir

DIR=miḫit išāti "firebrand"

LUL-LA=sarru "rebellious"

GIG=sibṭi mutanē "death-dealing blows"

ḪUL=lumnu "evil"

GALU SA-GAZ=ḫabbatum "plunderer"

SI-MU-TU="fixing death"(?)

b) COMPARISON WITH FEROCIOUS ANIMALS

UR-BAR-RA=aḫū "jackal"

UD KA-KAB-A=umu na'ari "monster of the stream"

c) DISGUISED OR EUPHEMISTIC EPITHETS

MAN-MA=šanumma "another"

LA-SIT (meš)=la mināte "abnormal"

NU-ME-A=la ba-lum "good for nothing"

d) ASSOCIATED WITH A HOSTILE LAND

NIN-MA=Elam

To these we might add, as a fifth class, names taken from the color of the planet, to which would belong DIR in the sense of the "dark-red" planet and BABBAR=piṣu because of the brilliancy of the planet, though it should be remembered that this name also is applied, and with equal justice, to Jupiter and becomes in fact (as pointed out) in late astronomical texts under the form TE UT (or BABBAR) the common designation of Jupiter,⁷⁷ while Dir with the reading makrû, "oppressor" (?) is applied also to Jupiter and Mercury.

⁷⁷ Kugler, *Sternkunde*, I. 11.

A HYMN TO TAMMUZ¹

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CT. XV. PLATES 20, 21

Obverse. Plate 20

1. -E EN
..... lord
2. (TUB(KU)-BA)-E EN (GIG-GA-BI)
..... who sitteth, lord who sadly,
3. AN GAL-UŠUM-AN-NA TUB(KU)-BA-E EN GIG-GA(BI-EŠ) ...
The god ... great one; lord of the year who sitteth; lord who
sadly
4. A-LIG (KAL) LIG (KAL) AN-DA-MU
Stormy weeping for the mighty one, the god Damu
5. A-LIG(KAL) DUMU(TUR) ū-MU-UN MU-ZI-(DA).
Stormy weeping for the youthful one, lord of the name of life.
6. A-LIG(KAL) DIMMER(AN) I(KA) DI I-DE ZA-(SUX)
Stormy weeping for the god of the word of judgment, of the eye of
precious stones. . .
7. A-LIG(KAL) DIMMER(AN) LAMGA ū-MU-UM
Stormy weeping for the god, the artificer, the lord of
8. A-LIG(KAL) LI-BI-IR ū-MU-UN
Stormy weeping for the artificer, the lord of
9. A-LIG(KAL) MU-LU SIR(BU) AN-NA-(MU)
Stormy weeping for him who is the light of my heaven
10. NI(IM) IB(TUM)-BI NAM-DA-AN-SI-IG KUR-DIB(LU)-BI GAR(ŠA)-RA-
(BI) . .
The terrific storm has bent him, making him bite the dust. . .
11. GI-DIM(GIM) NI-SIG(PA)-GI SAG-šù(KU) IM-MI-IB(TUM)
Like a reed it strikes him; on the head he is (smitten).
12. LIG(KAL)-E A-šAB(LIB)-BA-NI A-BAR-RA-NI.
The mighty one whose fields are a desolation (?).

¹See also J. Dyneley Prince, *JAOs*, XXX, pp. 94-100, the similar hymn to this god in CT. XV, Plate 18.

This hymn is one of a series found in *Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum*, XV, Plates 10 ff. Of these Dr. F. A. Vanderburgh has published in his thesis *Sumerian Hymns* (Columbia University Press, 1908) Plates 10, 15, 16, 17, 19, and also in the *JAOS* (1908), Plates 11, 12. I have published Plates 14 and 22 in the *AJSL*, and 23 in the *JAOS*. Dr. Vanderburgh, who, in conjunction with myself, is preparing others of this set for the press, has aided me in the rendering of the present hymn with many suggestions.

13. LAX-BA DIMMER(AN) DUMU-ZI-DE A-SU-MU-UG-GA-(NI)
The shepherd the god Tammuz, he who is afflicted.
14. DAMAL-NI ER(A-ŠI)-RI E-NE-IR XI-MU-UN-NA-TE-(GA)
His mother with wailing for him let her approach.
15. ER(A-ŠI)-RI A-ŠE-RI E-NE-IR XI-MU-UN-NA-TE-(GA).
With wailing, with lament for him let her approach.
16. NI-GIN(DU)-GIN(DU) ER (A-ŠI) GIG NI-TU-TU.
She goeth continually; sad weeping she measureth out (?).
17. NI-TUB(KU)-EN ŠU ŠAB(LIB)-BI-EŠ IM-LAL.
She sitteth; (her) hand to her heart she clasps.
18. ER(A-ŠI) IM-ME ER(A-ŠI)-BI GIG-GA-KAM.
With weeping she speaks; her weeping is sad.
19. SAR IM-ME SAR-BI GIG-GA-KAM.
In lamentation she speaks; her lament is sad.
20. NIN-A-NI AMAŠ-TA È(UD-DU)-DA-NI.
His sister from the enclosure goes forth.
21. DIMMER (AN) MU-TIN AN-NA NIN Ú-MU-UN-NA-GE(KIT) AMAŠ-TA È(UD-DU)-DA-NI.
Goddess of the wine of heaven, sister of the lord from the enclosure she goes forth.
22. IGI(ŠI)-GABA(GAB) MULU MUL(TE)-LAL GA-BRI GID(BU)-DA.
The watchful one, he who is the gallû, the rival, presses upon her.
23. DAMAL DIMMER(AN) MU-TIN-RA GU(KA) MU-UN-NA-DÊ-E.
The mother, goddess of wine, she spoke.
24. NE-ŠÛ(KU) ŠEŠ-ZU MULU ER(A-ŠI)-RI BA-AN-TU-TU?
Unto this thy brother, the man of weeping wilt thou enter?
25. NE-ŠÛ(KU) DIMMER(AN) DUMU-ZI MULU A-LIG(KAL) BA-AN-TU-TU?
Unto this one, the god Tammuz, him of stormy weeping wilt thou enter?
26. MUL(TE)-LAL-DA KASKAL IM-ŠI-GIN(DU).
With the gallû on the way she started.
27. KA-AB-GAZ-E XAR-RA-AN-NA IM-DA-AN-BA.
The slaying demon the road he showed to her.
28. MULU ŠU-DA-A E-NE-RA MU-UN-DA-BAL-E.
He who is the šudû unto him broke through.
29. MULU λ(ID)-LAL-A E-NE-RA MU-UN-DA-BAL-E.
He who is the alû unto him broke through.
30. (IM)-DA-ŠUB(RU)-UB-BA-ĀŠ IM-DA-ZI-GA-ĀŠ.
They turned to him; they pressed through to him.
31. TUB(KU)-BI IM-ŠI-SUD(G)-GI-EŠ.
. who sits; they went far on.
32. IM-GI IM-GI EŠ.
33.

Reverse. Plate 21.

1. , . sig(PA?)-GI(?)-EŠ
 they smote(?)
2. ZU BI-EŠ ME-E I(KA) BA- AB(?) -RA-RA?
 thy where shall I begin to speak (my grief)?
3. ZU sig(PA)-GI-EŠ ME-E I(KA) BA-AB(?) -RA-RA?
 thy they smote; where shall I begin to speak
 (my grief)?
4. ZU-IM-MI-IN-SIG(PA)-GI-NE ME-E I(KA) BA-AB(?) -RA-RA?
 thy . . they smote it; where shall I begin to speak (my
 grief)?
5. ZU IM-MI-IN-SIG(PA)-GI-NE ME-E I(KA) BA-AB(?) -RA-RA?
 thy . . . they smote it; where shall I begin to speak (my
 grief)?
6. DIMMER(AN) DUMU-ZI-DA E-NE-AM NIN-A-NI MU-NI-IN-SAG(?);
 the god Tammuz the word of his sister he comprehends(?);
 šAB(LIB)-št(KU) BA-RA-AN
 to his heart he (applies it?).
7. RA I(KA) MU-UN-NA-DÉ-E.
 unto he spoke.
8. GAB RA È (UD-DU); ME-E-št(KU) GA-BA-E-DA-GIN(DU)?
 go forth; whither shall I go with you?
9. MU DA . . . RA È(UD-DU); ME-E-št(KU) GA-BA-E-DA-GIN(DU)?
 go forth; whither shall I go with you?
10. MU GIŠ DUB MI GÍ-GÍ DAMAL-MU-RA XU-MU-NI-IN-NI-EŠ.
 return; unto my mother I will return.
11. I(KA) XE(GAN)-IM-ME.
 the word let me speak.
12. I(KA) XE(GAN)-IM-ME.
 the word let me speak.
13. XE(GAN)-IM-GUB(DU) šAB(LIB)-DUMU I(KA) XE(GAN)-IM-ME.
 let me stand; with the heart of a child let me speak the word.

COMMENTARY

Obverse

3. FOR GAL-UŠUM-AN-NA, cf. Reisner, *Hymnen*, No. 37, obv. 19: DAMAL-GAL-UŠUM-AN-NA. TUB(KU)-BA-E (also obv. 2) is a participial construction; KU=ašābu 'sit, dwell,' 10523; GIG=marqu 'sick' clearly 'sad,' here; 9235.

4. A-LIG(KAL); lit. 'water' (A)+LIG(KAL) 'powerful' [see also this line LIG(KAL)]; an undoubted allusion to the flood of tears, ritually prescribed for the vanished Tammuz; cf. *JAOS*, XXX, p. 97, referring to Ezek. 8: 14; Zech. 12: 10. Dr. Vanderburgh, in his *Sumerian Hymns*,

p. 70, rendered this phrase A-KALA 'mightiness,' referring it to Tammuz (CT, XV. 19, 2 ff.), regarding A as an abstract prefix to KAL. Both he and I now regard this as incorrect, owing to the undoubted parallelism of A-LIG(KAL) and ER(A-ŠI)-BI 'weeping' in this text, obv. 24-25, which implies the meaning 'stormy weeping' for A-LIG. For this LIG(KAL) and also for the epithet of Tammuz: AN-DA-MU, cf. IV. 30, rev. 2.

5. MU-ZI-(DA), evidently a prolongation of the usual name of Tammuz in Sumerian DUMU-ZI-DA.

6. DIMMER(AN) I(KA)-I-DE-ZA-(SUX) is evidently an epithet of Tammuz, the correct translation of which is given above. Cf. IV. 30, rev. 6: A-LIG(KAL) DIMMER(AN) I(KA)-DI-I-DE-ZA-(prob. sux), and III. 68, 52: AN-ŠI (I-GI ŠU-BA) ZA-SUX; viz., ZA=abnu 'stone' (MSL, 360); sux=našāqu 'be precious,' 3019 (MSL, 297).

7. LAMGA=namgaru 'artificer,' MSL, 221.

8. LI-BI-IR 'artificer'=ligir (MSL, 223-224).

9. SIR(BU)=nāru 'light,' 7530: napāxu 'shine,' 7527.

In lines 4-9, these epithets are clearly secondary names for Tammuz and may be pronounced as proper names.

10. NI(IM)=ramānu 'storm,' 8367; IB(TUM)-BI 'raging'=agāgu 'rage,' 4954. In NAM-DA-AN-SI-IG, SI-IG=SIG(PA)=mašāqu 'smite,' 5576, here probably 'smite down, bend.' Note the NAM-prefix, not negative (Prince, MSL, XXIX, § 34). KUR-DIB-BI=GAR(ŠA)-RA-BI; lit., 'earth' (KUR=erçitu, 7392) + 'his' (BI) + 'seizing' DIB(LU)=ašāzu, 10674). GAR(ŠA) 'make'=kānu, šakānu (MSL, 125) + RA, prolongation + BI 'it'; i.e., 'his earth-seizing it making him'; circumstantial clause.

11. Perhaps sig(PA) after IM-MI-IN-IB(TUM).

12. A-ŠAB-BA-NI 'his fields'; A-ŠAB=eqlu 'field,' 11585. A-BAR-RA-NI 'its desolation; here A is probably abstract prefix to BAR=the division sign (MSL, 53-4)='cut in two, sever'=muššuru, 1774.

13. In A-SU-MU-UG-GA-NI, A is clearly abstract prefix. For SUMUG=šutu 'trouble,' 3914, cf. MSL, 299.

14. E-NE-IR; ENE 'him' + IR, a variant of -RA; note E-NE-RA, obv. 28.

15. ER(A-ŠI)-BI; ER(A-ŠI)=bikitu 'weeping,' 11606; dimtu 'tear,' 11609; taqribtu 'supplication,' 11618; tanixu, 11619, tazimtu, 11620, unnu, 11621, 'lamentation'; all evidently translations of A 'water' + ŠI 'eye.' The form A-ŠE-RI, possibly also to be read ER(IR)-RI, is, of course, a variant of the same word; note A-ŠE-IR=tanixu 'lamentation,' 11574.

16. ʔu is difficult. The context demands some such meaning as 'give forth, measure out.' Note that ʔu is the usual word for šiqu 'shekel,' 11913, from šaqālu 'weigh.'

17. The -EN in NI-TUB(KU)-EN is probably an ending, denoting present action. ŠU ŠAB(LIB)-BI-EŠ IM-LAL; lit. 'hand to (EŠ=šō) her heart she

binds'; LAL=rakāsu 'bind,' 10102; kamû 'bind,' 10096, for the development of which meanings, see *MSL*, 219-220.

18. ME=qālu 'speak,' 10361 (*MSL*, 236). The KAM here is the sign noted in 8337=the other KAM=lû 'verily,' 4041 (*MSL*, 199); the asseverative particle. The meaning='verily is.'

19. SAR with value MU=zamāru 'sing,' 4347. The context here demands a meaning like 'call out,' clearly in lamentation.

20. NIN=axātu 'sister,' 19984, but it usually means bēltu 'lady,' 10986. 'Sister' is no doubt meant here, as the mother is mentioned, obv. 14. AMAŠ (unclear) probably refers to the enclosure of the heaven=supûru, Sb. 248.

21. This sister of Tammuz was the goddess of the heavenly wine; i.e., of the heaven-sent grape juice. It is interesting to observe her name in this passage.

22. IGI-GABA=amîru 'watchful one,' 9325; naplûsu 'watch,' 9326. GAB-RI=māxîru, 4502; šanînu 'rival,' 4505. GID(BU)=sanāqu 'press upon,' 7536; for BU, see *MSL*, 140 ff.

24. NE-šû(KU) must mean 'unto this one'; NE=annû 'this,' 4580; viz., prolepsis in line 24 for šeš-zu, and in line 25 for DIMMER DUMU-ZI. TU=erēbu 'enter,' 1072. The context seems to require that the pref. BA=shall be rendered as a second person.

26. ON KASKAL=xarrānu 'road,' 4454, cf. *MSL*, 201. IM-ši-GIN(DU) 'she started on her journey'; i.e., the pref. IM-MU- in force=the relating past; the infix -ši-, harmonic to IM-, connotes here the idea of direction (Prince, *AJSL*, XXIV, 359; 363). GIN(DU)=alaku 'go,' 4871. In IM-ši-GIN we have perfect vowel harmony.

27. KA-AB-GAZ-E; lit. 'the face which slays'; KA=appu 'face,' 520+AB- prefix+GAZ=dāku 'slay,' 4719+E, the definite article=the demon of the death-dealing countenance. IM-DA-AN-BA: 'he' (IM); 'to her' (DAN); BA=qāšu 'give,' 107; lit. 'he gives her the road.'

28. ŠU-DA-A seems to mean 'the demon of the strong hand'; ŠU=qātu 'hand,' 7071; DA=aštu 'powerful,' 6646. On E-NE-RA, cf. E-NE-IR, obv. 14. MU-UN-DA-BAL-E; note BAL=nabalkutu 'press through,' 270.

29. λ(ID)-LAL-A='the demon of the full hand'; λ(ID)=idu 'hand,' 6548; LAL=malû 'be full,' 10096.

30. RU-UB=šûb, with complementary -ûb; šûb(RU)=abāku 'bend, turn,' 1424 (*MSL*, 320). ZI-GA=tebû 'press through unto,' 2335.

31. On SUD(G)-GI, connoting the idea 'be far,' cf. *MSL*, 295.

Reverse

The Reverse is so mutilated that a complete translation is impossible, but the following remarks on the text of rev. 1-15 may be of interest to the student.

5. The context seems to show the unhappy persecution of Tammuz in the Lower World, as *siġ(PA)* 'smite,' occurs in each of the first five lines. It is possible that the rescuing sister-goddess is represented as appearing here, as she seems to express her sorrow at his condition. *i(KA)=amātu* 'word,' 518. *ra-ra* is difficult, but, in connection with *i(KA)*, appears to have the meaning *aṣāzu* 'seize,' 6353; i.e., she asks where (at what point) she shall take up the lamentation for her imprisoned brother; her heart is so full. *me-e=ekiām*, 10363; *ianu*, 10365; *ia'nu*, 10366; *ia'u*, 10367; *all*='where.'

6. *e-ne-ām=amātu* 'word,' 5871.

8. *me-e-šu(KU)* 'unto where'='whither.' *ga-ba-e-da-gin(DU)*; *ga* here probably='may,' although it is usually conditional; *da* denotes 'with' (Prince, *AJSL*, XXIX, 357); here='with you'; *gin(DU)=alāku* 'go,' 4071.

10. *ni-in-ni* is a spelled out variant of *nigi*, *nigin*, 10330=*saxāru* 'turn, return,' 10339.

13. *šab(LIB)-dumu* seems to mean 'heart of a child'; i.e., 'with a lowly heart.'

THE ROYAL FEUD IN THE WADY HALFA TEMPLE

By P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF

Professor Breasted's last article on the subject of the disagreement between him and myself with regard to the temple at Wady Halfa calls for a short reply. In the first place, no one who has read his original reply to me could consider it "temperate" in tone, and if my rejoinder was couched in somewhat similar terms I think an impartial reader will come to the conclusion that I had a good deal of provocation. My object in drawing attention to documents which Professor Breasted considers "irrelevant" was, as I stated at the time, to show the unfairness of his methods of criticism by applying them to himself. Professor Breasted certainly "imputed wholesale inaccuracy" to me, although he singled out for attack two subjects only: (1) the reliefs which rightly or wrongly I did not discuss; (2) the historical inscription of Thothmes III, my transcription and partial translation of which, although it may contain errors, was, I believe, the first ever published. Professor Breasted also ignored the fact that I was the first to draw attention to the peculiarities and alterations in the design of the temple and that I published a measured plan.

With regard to my countercharges concerning Professor Breasted's *Ancient Records* I cannot see how they are affected by the fact that Professor Sethe's work appeared after his own. The original inscriptions were there and it was open to Professor Breasted to make his edition¹ as complete as Professor Sethe has done. How the latter will like his completion of the text described as entirely conjectural I do not know. I, however, willingly concede that I did not make it sufficiently clear in my reply to Professor Breasted's attack on me that his omissions are clearly indicated by him, and if I have given a false impression with regard to this I hasten to express my

¹ Cf., however, *Ancient Records*, Vol. II, pp. 172-74, and note B on p. 172, where Professor Breasted gives as his source for the text of the *Annals*: "Bissing's unpublished collation" and adds (footnote): "This is incorporated in the Berlin Dictionary and I owe to von Bissing my sincere thanks for permission to use it." R. F. H.

regret. I am also perfectly willing to accept his explanation with regard to the stele of Thetha, namely, that one of his own pupils "copied it backward without knowing it." In this case also, I freely admit, he has indicated as far as possible his omissions. I hope shortly to republish this interesting stele.

I think I can explain to Professor Breasted how the unfortunate mistake about plastering over the lowest line of the inscription of Thothmes III occurred. As far as I can recollect I left Wady Halfa one or two days before the work in the temple was completed in order to visit the sites of Meroe and Naga on my way to Khartum. Unluckily some of the cement which had been used under my supervision for filling up weak spots had been left over, and I can only suppose that after my departure my *reis* must have used it up by going round and patching here and there himself. On my return I had to pass straight through Wady Halfa and had no time to visit the temple, so that Professor Breasted's reference was the first I ever heard of this plastering. I may add that I have since written to Mr. Randall-MacIver who has recently been conducting extensive excavations on this site for Philadelphia with the support of Mr. Eckley B. Cox, Jr., asking him to have it removed.

ARABIC FOR THE WAYFARER

One of the most conspicuous results and perhaps, when all is said, the most important consequence of the lack of system in English spelling is that for English speakers there does not necessarily exist any fixed relation between a fixed spoken sound and a fixed written sign. Only by painful practice can there be developed for us the fact that a particular character must and can represent only a certain sound, and only after still more experience do we come to it that a sound demands one certain character. But most of us never reach that. Language remains for us syllabic, and syllabic with a wide possibility of indication. This it is which makes so hard the task of the writer in English of a manual of any colloquial dialects. If he adopts a scientific phonetic system, a small circle of students will approve but nine-tenths of his readers will revolt, will find him stiff, unintelligible, "un-English," while if he attempts to meet the demands of the latter for "common-sense spelling," all the specialists will arise and smite him.

Dr. Spoer¹ has taken his chances with the specialists, and frankly met the demands of the enormous majority of English speakers. Phoneticists will gnash their teeth, for there is not a law of their systems which he has not gaily broken; but his public—an ignorant, unscientific public, be it at once admitted—will approve. Like a good teacher, he has accepted his pupil as he is, and met his personal need. His method—for his plan an excellent one—was to show to educated English friends who were not Arabists the written form he proposed to use and to ask them how they would pronounce it, or to pronounce the Arabic word and ask them how they would write it. From that method some very queer-looking forms have resulted; but it was, in its way, perfectly scientific. Arabists soon lose their virginal innocence and the knack of guessing how the uncontaminated "English speller" will pronounce any combination of letters.

On yet another side Dr. Spoer has thrown the specialists over. We have become accustomed of late, in such grammars or colloquial Arabic, to a very precise definition, by territory of tribal ties or conditions of life, of the dialect to be described. The critical imperative has been absolute that you must not mix your dialects. Now, that is all very well for the philological student who surrounds himself with an apparatus of such grammars, lexicons, and painfully phoneticized texts, and with them lays

¹ *MANUAL OF PALESTINIAN ARABIC FOR SELF-INSTRUCTION.* By H. H. Spoer, Ph.D., and E. Nasrallah Haddad. Jerusalem, 1909. Pp. xiv+226.

out before him his dialectal map. But the wayfaring man has other needs. He must learn, in the quickest and simplest way, to understand and make himself intelligible to all sorts and conditions of men—city-folk, peasants, Bedawin—and for that there is always available a common dialect, an Arabic *lingua franca*, which with good will and patience will carry him through anywhere. That was the element of truth in such pre-scientific grammars of “modern Arabic” as that of Caussin de Perceval, and the present reviewer can testify that even Egyptian Arabic can be made fairly useful in Syria. It is, then, such a colloquial *lingua franca* for Palestine that Dr. Spoer has essayed, taking as his principal basis the educated native dialect of Jerusalem. If anyone knows that, he can go about comfortably and gradually work himself into the details of the narrower local dialect in which his lines may mainly be cast. For it cannot be over-emphasized that, in the end, a colloquial is a colloquial and is to be got by ear and mouth.

The first 84 pages are given to a sketch of *grammar*, with full examples and vocabularies. Then come 39 pages of illustrations, arranged according to the grammar, but all of daily usefulness. Then another 37 of similar usefulness, but arranged according to material subjects and occasions. Then 24 of stories, songs, proverbs, street-cries, peculiar idioms, etc., and finally 34 of a three-columned English-Arabic vocabulary. There might be more stories, and a full Syrian Arabic-English vocabulary has long been needed; but these are matters rather for a reader than for one learning to hear and speak. The latter either knows what is said to him or he does not; looking up in a vocabulary what he thinks he hears is of very little use. But in plunging himself into speech, he must have some clue to what to say, and that will be given him very clearly and fully by this book. Of course, the book presupposes constant practice of ear and mouth. Only in that way can the sounds peculiar to Arabic be mastered. Elaborate descriptions, especially in the case of the gutturals, of how they are produced may be of scientific interest but are of no practical use. Such are, I think wisely, omitted here, though it might have been well to emphasize the need of elaborate and ever-renewed practice of specimen words with a teacher.

Of course there are details to which exception could be taken. There does not seem, for example, to be any mention of the very common pronunciation among townsfolk of Qāf as *hemza*. Yet, on the other hand, the stranger who always gives Qāf its classical sound will be regarded as a person of profound learning. And is not *shidd* [shedd?] ḥailak (p. 182) rather a precativ perfect with Allah as subject, “May He increase thy strength”?

So it is always in Egypt. The workman there, to whom it is said, regards it as a prayer for him, not as an invitation addressed to him. And (p. 4) it is true that *ḏamīr* is used theologically for "conscience," but that meaning is derivative. The two forces, "pronoun" and "conscience," both come from the fundamental meaning of "hidden thing."

But these are hardly worth mentioning. The book is a good one and to be cordially recommended.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD

HARTFORD, CONN.

Book Notices

EGYPT AND THE BIBLE¹

This little volume of one hundred and thirty-four pages takes up the patriarchal stories from Abraham down to the Samson myth, and by identifying the characters and the incidents of the Hebrew stories with those in the Egyptian myths endeavors to demonstrate the Egyptian origin of the Old Testament materials contained in these tales. The method is that of discovering certain resemblances in the externals and then assuming the identity of the essential substance. Such a method unavoidably involves the author in fanciful comparisons and fantastic assumptions, which do not command the reader's assent. The method of plunging at once into the patriarchal stories without laying down any preliminary principles or historical foundations, arouses distrust from the beginning. The author begs his readers, after the perusal of twenty or thirty pages, not to lay the book aside in dissent, but to follow his arguments to the end. This remark is in the preface, accompanied by reference to the widespread influence of Egypt in Palestine as disclosed by recent excavations there. This reference, it would seem, might have suggested to the author how hopelessly weak is a series of casual and accidental resemblances between the patriarchal stories of the Hebrews and the Egyptian myths, when these parallels are set up in complete isolation without reinforcement by means of a background of demonstrable historical contact between Palestine and Egypt.

To any thinking orientalist of historical insight it must have been evident from the beginning that a politically insignificant power like that of the Hebrews in Palestine, situated at the very threshold of Egypt, must have been completely dominated by Egyptian influence. The vast and complex civilization on the Nile was continually in the closest contact with the life of Palestine, and just as we cannot think of the civilization of Germany without the influence of French and Italian culture, so the history and civilization of Palestine are inconceivable except as constantly involved in manifold influences from the Nile. Since the excavation of Gezer and Megiddo, we are in a position to discern these Egyptian influences in Palestine in so far as they found expression in the *material* life of the time. These material documents show us that the influence of Egyptian civilization was dominant in Palestine from the earliest times down to a thousand years B. C. As far as Palestine is concerned, pan-Babylonianism, already defunct after the exposé made by Kugler,

¹ÄGYPTEN UND DIE BIBEL. Die Urgeschichte Israels im Licht der ägyptischen Mythologie von Dr. Daniel Voelter, Professor der Theologie in Amsterdam. Vierte, neu bearbeitete Auflage. Leiden: Buchhandlung und Bruckerei Vormals. E. J. Brill, 1909.

has been completely annihilated by the results of the excavations in Palestine.

Professor Völter's book is a praiseworthy attempt to set forth the real situation, but in the reviewer's opinion his method is quite insufficient and his conclusions go entirely too far.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

A HIERATIC READER¹

One of the greatest and most inconvenient gaps in our equipment for university instruction in Egyptian has been due to the lack of hieratic texts which could be put into the hands of students. Such texts are usually published by the various museums in sumptuous plate form, at a cost prohibitive to the purse of the individual student. For years such students have been obliged to do as the writer did in his student days, viz., go to the library and laboriously copy, or, if the library rules permitted, trace a copy from the published plates of the document.

Moeller's great *Hieratische Palaeographie*² is of such importance in the teaching of Egyptian, that for the first time a hieratic chrestomathy becomes a really feasible enterprise. It was therefore a wise extension of that work to prepare and issue a sufficient number of important hieratic documents to illustrate the chief periods, and in such cheap form as to be quite within the reach of any student of oriental languages. The present instalments are two of three, each to cost about four marks (less than a dollar). The first "Heft" contains twenty-five carefully autographed plates representing the period of Old and Middle Hieratic, and comprising literary, historical, business, and scientific documents. The value of these materials is increased by the references to the *Palaeographie*, which the author has added to each difficult sign or ligature, in the form of a number designating the said sign in the *Palaeographie*.

The second "Heft" is devoted to the literary texts of the Empire, and includes tales (Märchen) like the Papyrus d'Orbiney and the tale of the Cursed Prince. The historical texts include the poem on Ramses' II Repulse of the Hittites, the historical section in the great Papyrus Harris, and a portion of the Report of Wen-amon. The section on religious texts comprises the myth of the Sun God, the hymn to Thoth, a portion of the great hymn to Amon in the Cairo Museum, and the prayer of Ramses III to Amon from the Papyrus Harris; also another prayer to Amon from the Papyrus Anastasi. Among the poetical texts, Moeller has chosen the hymn to Menephtah from the Papyrus Anastasi III; and the description of the royal palace from Anastasi II; also some of the love poems for which the Egyptian literature is so well known. The miscellaneous section at the end includes Papyrus Sallier and some of the literature of instruction in the Anastasi papyri. Moeller's work will form the standard chrestomathy, indispensable to every teacher and every student of Egyptian.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

¹ *HIERATISCHE LESESTÜCKE für den akademischen Gebrauch herausgegeben von Georg Moeller. Erstes Heft: Alt- und mittelhieratische Texte. Zweites Heft: Literarische Texte des neuen Reiches. Small folio. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1906.*

² Reviewed on pp. 133 f. of *AJSL*, XXVI, No. 2.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
(CONTINUING HEBRAICA)

VOLUME XXVII

JANUARY, 1911

NUMBER 2

THE COMPOSITION OF THE ELIHU SPEECHES¹
(JOB, CHAPS. 32-37)

BY HELEN HAWLEY NICHOLS

HISTORY OF THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ELIHU SPEECHES

The speeches with which this discussion is concerned constitute chaps. 32-37 of the Book of Job. In agreement with the verdict of the majority of modern scholars and for reasons to be considered later, this discussion assumes that the Elihu Speeches are not an integral and original part of the poem. But their history and that of their interpretation are inevitably bound up with those of the Book of Job. Though Job without the Elihu Speeches would be artistically more perfect, the Elihu Speeches separated from the poem could have no significance.

Scholars previous to the nineteenth century did not question the genuineness of the speeches. Stuhlmann² in 1804 was the first to suggest that they formed a later addition to the poem. Yet the judgment passed upon Elihu by earlier critics is still of interest for the interpretation of his contribution.

The rabbis devote far less attention to him in the Talmud than his own claims would seem to have warranted. In the Babylonian

¹A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

² *Hiob*, 1804.

Talmud¹ he is reckoned with the seven prophets of the Gentiles: Balaam, his father, Job, Eliphaz, Bildad, Zophar, and Elihu. It was later maintained, however, that all these prophets were Israelites, who prophesied primarily concerning the Gentiles. A discussion once arose between R. Akiba,² who believed Elihu was Balaam, and R. Eleazar, who contended that he must represent Isaac because of his name Barachel. With surprising insight Rabbi Judah³ maintained that Job's words were in praise of God, more than Elihu's.

In the Testament of Job⁴—a Greek apocryphal form of the story—Elihu appears as a Satanic beast, and when the friends are pardoned Elihu does not receive forgiveness.

The early Christian Fathers were by no means admirers of Elihu. Jerome in his commentary on Job⁵ agreed with the opinion of the Talmudist that Elihu represented Balaam and was therefore a false prophet, while Gregory the Great⁶ believed that Elihu had right understanding of the matter but his words were proud and arrogant. The heretical Theodore of Mopsuestia,⁷ whose opinions concerning Job were cited as evidence against him, found Elihu's words if possible more offensive than those of the friends.

Jewish criticism of a later period seems decidedly more favorable to Elihu. Ibn Esra⁸ expresses the opinion, in a commentary which dates from about 1140, that the true solution of the problem is to be found in Elihu's words. Job is there taught by the consideration of nature's mysteries not to seek full understanding of God's justice and the friends are reproved for their insufficient conception of God's providence.

The remarkable theory was advocated by Lightfoot⁹ that Elihu was the real author of the poem. Michaelis¹⁰ and Schultens¹¹ looked

¹ *Baba Bathra*, 15b.

² *Jer. Talmud*, *Sotah*, V, 20d.

³ *Ex. R.* 34:1; *Jew. Enc.*, art. "Job."

⁴ See "Testament of Job" in *Jew. Enc.*, VII.

⁵ *Praefatio in Job*, IX.

⁶ *Expositio moralis in beatum Iob* (Bibliotheca Patrum Latina 75, 76).

⁷ *Mansi's Councils*, IX, col. 200 f.

⁸ *Abraham Ibn Esra's Hiobkommentar*, Julius Galliner (Dissertation, 1901).

⁹ *Chronol. V. T.*, p. 25 (quoted by Michaelis).

¹⁰ *Notae Ueberiores in librum Jobi* (1720).

¹¹ *Liber Jobi* (1737).

upon him with favor, as did Calvin,¹ and to Bishop Lowth² Elihu's gentleness appeared in beautiful contrast to the harshness of Job's other censors. In 1750 an Englishman named Hodges³ devoted an entire treatise to an attempt to show that Elihu was an antitype of Christ and therefore his words were similar to the Yahweh Speeches.

After centuries of alternately over-harsh or over-commendatory estimates of his worth, it remained for the nineteenth century to question his place in the book. Though Stuhlmann believed the poem itself a pre-Mosaic work, he assigned to the speeches of Elihu a post-exilic date. His chief arguments against their genuineness were that they rendered the Yahweh Speeches superfluous and that they were inferior in style to the remainder of the book.

From that time until the present the discussion of the Elihu Speeches has been largely concerned with the question of their genuineness. It will be simpler to give a list of the important names identified with either decision and to discuss afterward special treatments of the subject. In favor of their genuineness are: Jahn,⁴ Staedlein,⁵ Berthold,⁶ Gesenius,⁷ Schaerer,⁸ Rosenmueller,⁹ Umbreit,¹⁰ Bruno Bauer,¹¹ Vaihinger,¹² Stickel,¹³ Haevernick,¹⁴ Hahn,¹⁵ Schlottmann,¹⁶ Hengstenberg,¹⁷ Deutsch,¹⁸ Bunsen,¹⁹ Kamphausen,²⁰ Green,²¹

¹ *Conciones* (1563). Translated by Arthur Golding, 1593.

² *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum* (1753).

³ *Elihu, or an Enquiry into the Principal Scope and Design of the Book of Job* (1750).

⁴ *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, II.

⁵ *Beiträge zur Philosophie und Geschichte der Sittenlehre*, II.

⁶ *Einleitung in die Schriften des Alten Testaments*, V (1815).

⁷ *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache*.

⁸ *Das Buch Hiob* (1818).

⁹ *Scholia in Vet. Test.* (1824).

¹⁰ *Das Buch Hiob* (1832).

¹¹ *Die Religion des Alten Testaments*, II.

¹² *Das Buch Hiob* (1842).

¹³ *Das Buch Hiob* (1842).

¹⁴ *Handbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, 3 Theil (1849).

¹⁵ *Commentar über das Buch Hiob* (1850).

¹⁶ *Das Buch Hiob* (1851).

¹⁷ *Das Buch Hiob* (1870).

¹⁸ *De Elihui Sermonum Origine atque Auctore* (Dissertation, 1873).

¹⁹ *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* (1863), S. 1810.

²⁰ Bleek, *Einl.*, S. 661. (These two are quoted by Budde in his *Commentar*, S. xvii.)

²¹ *Argument of Job Unfolded* (1873).

Boelicke,¹ Godet,² Cox,³ Briggs,⁴ Genung,⁵ Wildeboer,⁶ Cornill,⁷ Budde,⁸ Posselt.⁹ It should be mentioned that Bunsen and Kamp-hausen suggest that the speeches were added later by the original poet to avoid misunderstanding of the poem.

Against the genuineness of the speeches range themselves in long array after Stuhlmann: Eichhorn,¹⁰ Bernstein,¹¹ Vatke,¹² Ewald,¹³ Hirzel,¹⁴ Knobel,¹⁵ Heiligstedt,¹⁶ Magnus,¹⁷ Renan,¹⁸ Simson,¹⁹ Schra-der,²⁰ Dillmann,²¹ Merx,²² Hitzig,²³ Delitzsch,²⁴ Studer,²⁵ Davidson,²⁶ Wright,²⁷ Kleinert,²⁸ Holtzmann,²⁹ Cheyne,³⁰ Reuss,³¹ Grill,³² Hoff-mann,³³ Driver,³⁴ Koenig,³⁵ Bickell,³⁶ Margoliouth,³⁷ Siegfried,³⁸

¹ *Die Elikureden* (Dissertation, 1879).

² *Etudes bibliques* (transl. by Lyttelton, 1875).

³ *A commentary on the Book of Job* (1885).

⁴ *Pres. Review* (1885), p. 353.

⁵ *The Epic of the Inner life* (1891).

⁶ *Die letterkunde des Ouden Verbonds* (1893) (German transl. by Risch, 1895).

⁷ *Introduction to the Can. Bks. of the O.T.* (English transl. by Box, 1907).

⁸ *Beiträge zur Kritik des Buches Hiob* (1876); *Das Buch Hiob* (1896).

⁹ *Der Verfasser der Eliu-Reden* (1909).

¹⁰ *Einleitung ins A.T.*, V (1824).

¹¹ *Keil's und Tzschirner's Analekten*, III.

¹² *Biblische Theologie*, I (1835).

¹³ *Die poetischen Bücher des A.T.* 3 Thell (1836).

¹⁴ *Hiob* (1839).

¹⁵ *De Carminis Jobi argumento* (1835).

¹⁶ *Commentarius in Jobum* (1842).

¹⁷ *Commentar zum Hiob* (1851).

¹⁸ *Le Livre de Job* (1860).

¹⁹ *Zur Kritik des Buches Hiob* (1861).

²⁰ (de Wette-Schrader) *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung* (1869).

²¹ *Hiob* (1869), 4th ed., 1891.

²² *Das Gedicht von Hiob* (1871).

²³ *Das Buch Hiob* (1874).

²⁴ *Das Buch Hiob* (1876).

²⁵ *Das Buch Hiob* (1881).

²⁶ "The Book of Job" in *the Cambridge Bible* (1884).

²⁷ *The Book of Job* (1883).

²⁸ "Das spezifisch Hebräische im Buche Hiob," in *Theol. St. Kr.* (1886), S. 26 f.

²⁹ In *Stade's Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II, S. 348 (1888).

³⁰ *Job and Solomon* (1887).

³¹ *Hiob* (1888).

³² *Zur Kritik der Komposition des Buches Hiob* (1890).

³³ *Hiob* (1891).

³⁴ *Introduction to the Literature of the O.T.* (1891).

³⁵ *Einleitung ins A.T.* (1893).

³⁶ *Das Buch Hiob* (1894).

³⁷ Art. "Job" in *Smith's Bible Dict.* (1893).

³⁸ "The Book of Job" in *Polychrome Bible* (1893).

Kuenen,¹ Baethgen,² Laue,³ Strack,⁴ Meinhold,⁵ Marti,⁶ Duhm,⁷ Davison,⁸ Friedrich Delitzsch,⁹ Ley,¹⁰ Peake.¹¹

Those who have defended Elihu in the critical debate have usually found in his words the positive solution of the problem, which the poem without them fails to give, and a preparation for the Theophany. But even among some modern scholars an exactly opposite view has been held. Herder,¹² who called Elihu "ein lauter Schatzen," may be considered an early exponent of it. Hahn and Umbreit uphold a similar theory, and more recently in this country Briggs and Genung. According to this view Elihu sums up the argument of the friends in all its essential weakness to show that the mystery is unsolvable by human wisdom and thus to prepare the reader for the great revelation of Yahweh in the chapters which follow. The author has intentionally characterized Elihu as a bombastic and over-confident youth in order to emphasize the inadequacy of his wisdom. Genung finds an exquisite dramatic fitness and grim irony in the claim which Elihu makes and his later humiliation.

We must agree with Budde that this is of all explanations the most improbable. This kind of subtle irony would be more natural to a modern mind than to a Hebrew poet. Moreover, the theory shows a singular lack of appreciation for the sincerity and real worth of Elihu's words. They are earnest and earnestly meant by their author.

After Stuhlmann, the next severe attacks against the genuineness of the Elihu Speeches were made by Ewald in 1836 and Hirzel in 1839. They urged the peculiarities of the language of Elihu as indubitable evidence against him. Stickel answered this charge

¹ *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 3 Theil (transl. by Müller, 1894).

² Kautzsch's *Die heilige Schriften des A.T.* (1896).

³ *Die Komposition des Buches Hiob* (Dissertation, 1895).

⁴ *Einleitung ins A.T.* (1895).

⁵ "Das Problem des Buches Hiob," in *Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* (1892), Band I, S. 63.

⁶ *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*, III, S. 262 (1897).

⁷ *Hiob* (1897).

⁸ Art. "Job" in *Hastings' Bib. Dic.*, II (1899).

⁹ *Das Buch Hiob* (1902).

¹⁰ *Das Buch Hiob* (1903).

¹¹ "Job," *Century Bible* (1905).

¹² *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, I (1782).

in 1842 by a detailed study of the linguistic evidence and came to the conclusion that it was not sufficient to condemn the speeches.

In 1873 Emmanuel Deutsch published a dissertation which reviewed the controversy up to that date. He found a convincing argument for the speeches in the fact that Elihu takes a higher ground than the friends and supplies the deficiencies of the earlier discussion. But his argument is rather an apology for Elihu than a scholarly defense of his place in the poem.

A far more effective defense was made by Budde in 1876. Following Stickel's plan, he made a careful comparison of the diction of chaps. 32-37 with that of the poem and expressed the conviction "dass die Echtheit der Elihu-Reden ihrem sprachlichen Charakter gegenüber vollkommen möglich bleibt." His thorough study established the fact that the linguistic argument must be strongly supported by other arguments to render an adverse judgment decisive.

Budde was followed by Boelicke in a dissertation on the speeches, which maintained their genuineness.

Among recent defenders of Elihu may be mentioned Cornill and Wildeboer. Though admitting striking contrasts between these chapters and the rest of the book, they yet find in them the profound and positive solution of the problem, which they believe the poet must have given. They, with Budde, suggest that the formal incompleteness of the latter half of the dialogue may be due to lack of revision by the author, a fact which might also account for the inferior style of the Elihu chapters.

In his commentary on Job, Budde again took up the defense; this time less from the standpoint of language than from that of interpretation. He admits that the speeches as a whole make a somewhat unfavorable impression on him but he believes that the removal of numerous glosses will do much to alter this impression. The aim of the poet, as Budde interprets it, is to reveal to Job his sin of hidden spiritual pride and to bring him to penitence. Only after this experience could he be pardoned and restored. It is Elihu's mission to bring him to the true understanding of his trial, and the chapters are therefore indispensable in the scheme of the poem. Cornill also holds this interpretation.

The most recent special treatment of the speeches is that of

Wenzel Posselt. The arguments against their genuineness are considered with thoroughness and fairness but no convincing evidence is offered in their defense.

In the following general summary of the arguments employed by Elihu's defenders, those are chiefly considered which assume the positive worth of his contribution. Many of the same arguments are, however, employed with either interpretation.

GENUINENESS OF THE ELIHU SPEECHES

Content.—1. Aside from the speeches the poet brings no positive answer to Job's problem. The Yahweh Speeches merely bring the hero to submission.

2. Elihu offers a positive teaching which is in advance of that of the friends and at the very summit of Old Testament thought.

a) Job may not because of his own trials forget the divine justice and wisdom which are the order of the universe.

b) Pain and suffering are educative—a means of blessing in God's hands and a proof of his love.

c) Suffering is to bring to light hidden sin, and to destroy it.

3. The solution could not be put into the mouth of Yahweh, who would thus descend to the level of human debate, but must be offered by another speaker. Elihu's somewhat exalted view of himself and his extreme zeal are due to youthful enthusiasm.

Relation to the poem.—1. The speeches prepare for the Theophany by the description of the storm.

2. Elihu is not mentioned in the Prologue because he represents an impartial bystander, who enters the discussion later than the others. A more convincing suggestion is that the poet took the three friends from tradition, but invented the figure of Elihu. This suggestion might explain also the different character of his name.

3. Elihu is not mentioned in the Epilogue because his words are taken up and tacitly justified in the speeches of Yahweh.

4. Job does not answer because Elihu has brought conviction. The negative interpretation would explain his silence on the ground that Elihu has said nothing new.

5. The prose introduction is necessary in order to explain why Elihu has not earlier entered the discussion.

6. A later interpolator would, in general, have taken more pains to disguise his work and to liken it in all details to that of the original author.

Style.—1. The greater number of Aramaisms in Elihu's speech is an artistic touch of the poet to indicate the speaker's Aramaic origin.

2. The tedium and inferiority of his style are to be attributed to the unfinished character of the latter portion of the poem. They are also, in part, due to glosses.

3. The mention of Job's name is necessary to distinguish between him and the friends in address.

4. The use of quotations from the earlier dialogue is to lend emphasis to the speaker's arguments.

The above summary does not pretend to include all the arguments which have been brought forward in defense of the Elihu Speeches. Not all the arguments mentioned are of equal weight, nor have all been equally emphasized. Most stress has legitimately been laid by serious scholars on the relation of the speeches to the development of the thought of the poem.

Without replying definitely to each of the points suggested we shall attempt to restate what seem to us the conclusive reasons for believing that the Elihu Speeches and Job had not a common author. No originality can be claimed for such a statement, for the evidence has been collected and presented by a host of scholars. For the same reason it would be futile to attempt to trace each suggestion to its author.

It seems a better arrangement in this case to reverse the order of the discussion and consider first those characteristics of relationship and style which lead most naturally to questions concerning the Elihu Speeches.

Relation to the poem.—1. Elihu is not mentioned in the Prologue or Epilogue. The former omission might be explained naturally enough by his later entrance, but the latter is not so easily disposed of. Even though Yahweh's words may implicitly sanction Elihu's, the Epilogue, which so definitely metes out reward and punishment, should have awarded Elihu his due.

2. The brief subscription after chap. 31, "The words of Job are ended," is somewhat surprising if written by the author of the poem, for Job speaks again in chap. 42. It appears suspiciously like the addition of a later hand.

3. The opening words of chap. 38, "Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge," can hardly be supposed to refer to Elihu and are yet difficult to explain as referring to Job's soliloquy in chap. 31, if six chapters of discussion have intervened. The connection is not impossible, but it would be more natural if chap. 38 followed immediately on chap. 31. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the appearance of Yahweh seems a direct response to Job's demand for a hearing in the last verses of chap. 31.

4. The introduction of a new speaker at this point in the poem is a surprising and inartistic development. After the round of the dialogues and Job's final cry, the moment is certainly ripe for the *dénouement*. The special prose introduction, however, loses much of its significance when vv. 2-5 in chap. 32 are considered a secondary addition. The remaining verses say no more than the entrance of a new speaker would demand. Even Elihu's symbolic name need not call for remark, if he was intended as the bearer of the poet's answer.

5. One assumption of the defenders of these speeches is, however, without justification. It is by no means self-evident that a later writer would have taken more pains to unite his work with the original poem. His undertaking bore no stamp of dishonesty in his own eyes and he was not on his guard against the methods of modern criticism. Elihu's author was not an interpolator, in the real sense of the word; full of the urgency of his message, he takes no particular thought for the niceties of the dramatic situation. Kuenen suggests that the subscription after chap. 31 is intended to indicate that the following chapters are from another hand.

Style.—1. A notable peculiarity of the Elihu Speeches is their marked Aramaic coloring. Kautzsch states the proportion of Aramaisms as follows: there are thirty-two distinct Aramaisms in Job and eighty-four occurrences; in chaps. 32-37, which constitute one-seventh of the book, there are thirteen Aramaisms with thirty-

one occurrences. The explanation that Elihu is designedly given an Aramaic vocabulary is decidedly artificial and improbable. Such characterization is not in the manner of a Hebrew poet.

2. Elihu has certain peculiarities of speech which set him apart from the other speakers. Kautzsch¹ enumerates eight words used nine times, which are used only by Elihu. Such words are mentioned in the notes on the text. There are in addition phrases and usages which distinguish these chapters from the others; different words are used to express familiar conceptions; the poetical suffixes, which characterize the poem, are almost never employed. Elihu announces his intention to speak frequently, and calls upon Job to give heed. "To make known knowledge" or "wisdom" are favorite phrases on his lips. Only Elihu speaks of God as "opening the ear of man," and numerous other expressions are his alone.

3. Elihu alone addresses Job by name though plural and singular forms would have sufficed to distinguish those addressed.

4. The accurate quotation of Job's words or those of the friends is without parallel in the dialogue. Although Elihu is refuting Job's accusations, the hearers who had been present at the debate might have been expected to understand the allusions without a literal rehearsal of the remarks. The manner is rather that of a later reader and critic than of the poet in the heat of composition.

5. The poetry of these chapters is almost uniformly inferior to the rest of the poem. Not only prosaic phrasing and frequent lack of rhythm justify this verdict, but a marked lack of the splendid imaginativeness of the poem itself. Figures are less frequent and less vivid and the diction is less fresh and suggestive. There is a reiteration and monotony of style strangely in contrast to the earlier chapters, though all are cast in the same poetic mold. The difference is very apparent with a form of verse which only too readily degenerates into mere singsong. No one who has attempted to translate the chapters and retain the Hebrew form can fail to have felt their essentially unpoetic quality. They are the work of an author whose lesson was of first importance, whose verse was only a conventional form in which to offer it.

In view of this uniform inferiority, the suggestion that the speeches represent unfinished material of the poet fails to be convincing.

¹ *Die Aramaismen im Alten Testament*, 1 Thell (1902).

Content.—Judgment as to whether the poet has given an answer to the problem he has so relentlessly exposed will necessarily be subjective, therefore divided. The poem is not a mere philosophic debate; it is a record of human experience; and the conclusions of the two are to be differently estimated.

There is some justification for those who find no satisfying solution in the poem if Elihu is excluded from it. The arguments of the friends have only that measure of truth which the traditional and obvious belief must always contain. In spite of Friedrich Delitzsch's characterization of the poem as "*Das Hohelied des Pessimismus*," we cannot believe that Job's passionate challenge of the universe is its own excuse for being. There is something beyond, something toward which Job is fighting his way.

And then, say the advocates of the Elihu Speeches, Yahweh speaks to Job from the whirlwind not to make clear his hidden purpose, but to overwhelm Job by a swift panorama of his great and unknowable universe; to flash scorn upon him that he has dared to measure himself with the All-powerful and All-wise; to bring his helpless creature into abject submission. Is this an answer worthy of the poet? There is no solving of the mystery; if this is the poet's last word, it is a mere passive fatalistic relinquishing of the struggle.

But Job had come face to face with the Infinite, had seen life and the universe for a moment in the light of the Eternal.

I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear;
But now mine eye seeth thee,
Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent
In dust and ashes.

Without either an explanation or his justification, he was satisfied. Not an answer, only a vision, was the end of the poet's search. And the vision, perhaps, is not wholly satisfying—yet magnificent, worthy of a great poet and the heroic spirit who had lived out his life drama in such torture of soul. For solution he found, at last, only the simple religious one of trust in a love and wisdom that are beyond man's knowing.

Are we to demand that he should have given something more positive and definite, should have closed the argument with words

of wisdom on the meaning of suffering? The assumption that he must have done so in order to justify the writing of the poem seems unwarrantable and pedantic. If we must needs have an explanation, it will have to be sought with Elihu.

Here also, opinions vary regarding the freshness and value of Elihu's contribution. His message, which must be regarded primarily as that of the chastening educative purpose of suffering, is not by him first suggested. Eliphaz has undoubtedly expressed its essence in 5:17 and the following verses. Yet it cannot there represent the poet's final answer to the wherefore of suffering and sorrow, nor is the idea elsewhere in the dialogue resumed. By Elihu, however, it is proclaimed with the consciousness of fresh wisdom and the stamp of finality. He has taken a phase of the truth, as the poet saw it, and offered it as a complete explanation for the problem. In so far Elihu brings the only positive solution which the poem affords.

But the question is not whether the chapters furnish a positive answer, a valuable and true thought on the great problem—one, perhaps, religiously higher than anything in the poem itself—but whether it is the poet's solution. Would he have chosen to touch upon this thought, put it aside with the other inadequate words of the friends, and then introduce it at the close of the debate as an all-sufficient explanation? Would he have introduced another speaker of superior wisdom to develop and reiterate the idea at such length?

And yet another question must be raised. Chap. 37 anticipates the manner and the conception of the Yahweh Speeches. They do not in reality make the grandeur of the divine revelation superfluous, but they detract from its unique glory. The theory that they prepare for the Theophany by a description of the gathering storm is quite improbable. Apart from the question of the unity of the description, its failure to justify such a hypothesis has often been pointed out. The thunderstorm is followed by snow, a summer heaven, and, at the very moment before Yahweh appears in the whirlwind, by the clear windswept skies. This marring of his masterful conclusion is hardly to be ascribed to the poet. And there is more than a suggestion in 33:13—37:23 f. that a direct answer of Yahweh to Job is neither necessary nor fitting.

The content of the speeches, then, whatever its value, does not tend to contradict the evidence of style and connection against a common authorship for the Elihu Speeches and Job. It is indeed, as has often been said, the cumulative force of the various arguments which brings conviction—that, and an open-minded reading of the whole section.

DATE OF JOB

The chief critical problems which the Elihu Speeches offer having been considered, it is in order to question the probable date of the original poem and that of its chief supplement in relation to it. Without attempting to follow in detail a criticism which has steadily brought forward the date of Job, its progress may be suggested by a general statement.

The Talmudists and Michaelis among early critics believed it came from the hand of the great Lawgiver. This was probably the opinion of the makers of the Syriac Canon, for the book finds a place in the Peshitta between the Pentateuch and Joshua. Bishop Lowth, Stuhlmann, and Eichhorn considered it pre-Mosaic.

Its Wisdom character was sufficient to convince Luther, Haevernick, Hahn, Delitzsch, and others that it must belong to the age of Solomon. A date about 770 B.C. was suggested by Renan. A large number of scholars have dated the poem after the fall of the Northern Kingdom in the course of the seventh century; among them are: Ewald, Merx, Reuss, Stickel, De Wette, Schrader, Hirzel, Hitzig. Koenig places it at the very end of this century; Ley and Wright in the early years of the sixth.

For a composition in the period of the Exile declare themselves Umbreit, Dillmann, Davidson, Bickell, and Driver. The Persian period is favored by Vatke, Studer, Hoffmann, Margoliouth, Cheyne, Duhm. Kuenen and Budde consider a date not far from 400 B.C. one most in accord with the character of the book, while Holtzmann and Wildeboer bring it down to the Greek period. Cornill declares the book one of the latest in the Old Testament, and Siegfried would assign it apparently to the Maccabean period.

A date before Jeremiah it is hardly necessary to consider. The famous passages Job 3:3 f., 10:18 expressing Job's curse upon his birth in words so like Jeremiah's (20:14–18) must be adjudged, as

Cornill has pronounced, an artistic reshaping of the spontaneous cry of the prophet. The mention of Job with the patriarchs Noah and Daniel in Ezek. 14:14, 20 certainly presupposes a knowledge of the legend of "patient Job" rather than the poet's impatient hero. Ezek., chap. 18, which denies the existence of its problem, would scarcely have been written after the poem.

It need only be remembered that the poem is essentially a product of the Wisdom Literature, to suggest an exilic, if not post-exilic, date. This form of literary expression grew out of a time when the irrevocable overthrow of the nation had perforce shifted the emphasis to the individual. Purely religious sentiments in this time found expression in psalms; moral and philosophical reflections in the Wisdom poetry.

Job stands in close relation to both these forms of literature. The cry of despair in Ps. 88 is very like Job's complaints, and Pss. 38, 39 are pleas of more submissive sufferers. Special verses in many psalms are so strikingly similar that the two can hardly be independent. Compare for instance Ps. 8:5 and Job 7:17; Ps. 103:16 and Job 7:10b; Ps. 107:40-42 and Job 12:21, 24. In the first of these instances Job is almost certainly parodying the Psalmist's question, but to attempt to establish the priority in the numerous related passages would be comparatively useless, since the dating of the Psalms is so uncertain. Ps. 49 shows a special resemblance to the form of Wisdom literature, and Ps. 37 touches upon the Job problem.

Before discussing the relation of the poem to the other books of this character, the kinship between it and Deutero-Isaiah should be considered. Were there not remarkable likeness in forms of expression, the problem which absorbs the two authors would indicate that they were not separated by long periods of years. Only after the Exile did the problem of undeserved suffering become a burning one. The most natural inference from the form which the problem assumes is that Deutero-Isaiah's presentation is the earlier, for in Hebrew thought the individualistic development always followed the national. This probability is strengthened by the conditions which the two books represent. In Deutero-Isaiah the Captivity is the great and terrible reality; release from it the great

hope. The background of Job is not overwhelming national disaster and despair, but a time of comparatively peaceful and settled conditions. There is oppression, but it is of the poor and weak by the rich and strong. Only echoes of the national calamity are heard (Job 12:17 f.).

The unity and world government of Yahweh, which Deutero-Isaiah maintains, stand in Job beyond question. Absolute and universal monotheism is the postulate of the poem. True, the poem in its wider aspect found an answer which the author of Job does not even suggest. Cheyne for this reason believes that the Servant Passages are a later addition to the Deutero-Isaiah—a kind of commentary on Job (cf. Isa., chap. 53). But it may well be that the troubled poet found no significance for the personal problem in the solution of vicarious suffering. Passages like those in Job 14:2 and Isa. 40:7; Job 9:8 and Isa. 44:24; Job 15:35 and Isa. 59:4; Job 13:28 and Isa. 50:9, 51:8; Job 26:12 and Isa. 51:9; Job 30:21 and Isa. 63:10, resemble each other so closely that one writer must be dependent on the other. The glorification of God in nature which reaches its height in the Yahweh Speeches of Job is a marked characteristic of the prophet of the Exile. Comparison tends to show that the author of Job wrote after the time of Deutero-Isaiah.

The presentation of the same problem of undeserved suffering in Malachi strengthens this conclusion. The complaint of the people, as expressed by the later prophet (Mal. 1:2; 2:17; 3:13–15) is more akin to Job's cry than anything in Deutero-Isaiah. Kuenen and Budde have laid particular stress on this relationship. "It availeth not a man to serve God; the wicked prosper as the just." But it is to be noted in Malachi that the complaint is the general pessimistic declaration of the unthinking. When Job, on the other hand, voiced his protest, it came as a shock to the prevailing belief of his time, expressed in the attitude of the friends. Much of the significance of that protest against the old doctrine of retribution is lost, if we are to suppose the thought already a commonplace of the time. It is at all events clear that the two books must have arisen under similar conditions, but to the poet should probably be credited the first sharp formulating of the question.

Alleged traces of the completed Hexateuch in Job are naturally

only incidental and not sufficient to be regarded as conclusive evidence for date. Such are found in Job 21:12; 30:31; Gen. 4:21; 31:27; Job 42:11; Gen. 33:19. The P phrase at the conclusion of the book is, however, quite unmistakable, and if the Epilogue in this form represents the original conclusion of the poem, a date after 444 B.C. would be practically certain.

As the supreme product of the Wisdom literature, Job should be studied especially in relation to the other books of this character. Its relationship with Proverbs, chaps. 1-9—by general consent the latest section of the book—is of the greatest importance. The judgment of scholars has, however, been divided on this question. Seyring¹ and Strack,² who have given it special treatment, believe Job the earlier, but Merx, Davidson, Kuenen, Budde, Cornill, and others have affirmed the opposite opinion.

The closest resemblance is found between Prov. 3:14; 8:11, 19, and Job 28:15-19. This is of little significance for the date of Job because the entire twenty-eighth chapter is very generally admitted to be later than the poem and these particular verses are probably a still later addition. Other passages undoubtedly related are Job 5:17, 18; Prov. 3:11, 12; Job 15:7; 38:6; Prov. 8:25; Job 26:10; Prov. 8:27b; Job 38:10, 11; Prov. 8:29. A remarkable fact is that the passages mentioned in Proverbs are grouped in the third and eighth chapters.

We find a very convincing reason for considering the author of Prov. chaps. 1-9 the borrower in the fact that the conception of Wisdom is there far more developed and stereotyped than in Job. It is closer to that in Ben Sira (chaps. 1, 24). Toy³ in his commentary on Proverbs by a comparison of technical, ethical terms in Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes reaches the conclusion that, "Job is nearer Proverbs in the diction which the latter shares with the Psalter. We may thence probably infer that the philosophical conception of Wisdom is less developed in Job than in Proverbs, and that the former book is earlier than the latter."

Borrowing by the poet of Job has been assumed as certain in 15:7 (cf. Prov. 8:25), but this conclusion may be doubted. There

¹ *Die Abhängigkeit der Sprüche Salomonis Kap. i-ix. von Hiob* (1889).

² *St. Kr.* (1896), S. 609 f.

³ "Proverbs," *International Critical Commentary* (1899), 24 f.

is no obvious allusion to personified Wisdom in Eliphaz' scornful question, which might well have been suggested by expressions in Deutero-Isaiah (cf. 40:21, 22; 44:24; 45:18, 21) proclaiming the wisdom of the Lord from the beginning in the creation of the world. Eliphaz' question might thus refer to a wisdom arising from age-long existence and the answer in vv. 9, 10 scoff at Job's pretensions in the face of older men than himself. A later writer in Proverbs may have employed the phrase, with others from the Yahweh Speeches, for his praise of eternal Wisdom. The entire description Prov. 8:22-31 seems to presuppose the Yahweh Speeches rather than serve as an inspiration for them. Kuenen has suggested that the two authors may have been contemporaries.

The earlier sections of Proverbs were very probably known and used by Job's author. Compare Prov. 13:9; 24:20 with Job 18:5, 6; 21:17; Prov. 15:11 with Job 26:6; Prov. 16:15 with Job 29:23, 24.

For the establishment of date it is hardly necessary to consider the relation of Job with Ecclesiastes or Ben Sira. The diction of both these later books exhibits new verbal forms, late syntactical usages, neo-Hebraisms, Aramaisms, etc., which indicate a far more decadent stage of the language than that of Job.¹

There is only one definite reference to Job in Ecclesiastes (Eccles. 5:14; Job 1:21). Sira quotes the poem frequently, though freely, as though the book had belonged to his Canon and been studied. Compare Sir. 4:10 with Job 31:16, 18; Sir. 14:17, 19 with Job 13:28; Sir. 43:27, 32 with Job 26:14 and the description of the phenomena of nature in Sir. 43:13 f. with various portions of the Yahweh Speeches. Special use seems to have been made of Job, chap. 28 (cf. Sira, chap. 1). Moreover, Job is mentioned in the list of famous men (Sir. 49:9, Heb. text) where we should perhaps read an emended text, "He also mentioned Job the upright who uttered right words." (Cf. art. "Job," *Enc. Bib.*)

If, as seems very probable, Job has been quoted by the author of Prov., chaps. 1-9, and Ben Sira, Cornill's contention that the poem exercised no influence on Hebrew literature would be unfounded.

¹ Cf. Lèvi, *Hebrew Text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus* (1904), p. 12, and the glossary of non-biblical words at the end; Barton, "Ecclesiastes" (*Inter. Critical Commentary*; 1908), pp. 52 f.

Cheyne¹ believed Ps. 88 imitative of Job and also other passages in later psalms (p. 84).

A literary-historical investigation thus suggests a date not earlier than the last third of the fifth century. Linguistic evidence would forbid placing the poem at a much later date. To postulate Greek² or Egyptian³ influence because of the dialogue form of the poem seems quite unnecessary. Job stands alone in many respects in Hebrew literature; the form is not an artificial one and is peculiarly adapted to the author's purpose. The conceptions of the poem are essentially Hebraic, though freed from nationalistic bias.

Certain special conceptions of the poem, which have a bearing upon the question of date, should be mentioned. The Satan of the Prologue is unknown in pre-exilic literature and may possibly bear a relation to the Persian Ahriman. Satan in Zech., chap. 3, appears as the adversary of the righteous in the heavenly council; in the Prologue of Job he is still a servant of Yahweh, though of evil intent. The latter conception seems the earlier form, but since the Prologue and Epilogue are probably not the poet's own creation, the evidence for date is not of so much significance. A later stage of development is clearly indicated in Chronicles, where the name of Satan is mentioned without the article. The council of the Bene Elohim in the Prologue and several references to angelic beings in the poem (4:18; 5:1; 15:15; 38:7) indicate post-exilic thought. In later thinking the distance between God and men was ever widening, and there was a tendency to create hosts of subordinate heavenly beings as intermediaries. In Daniel the angels have become organized into hierarchies and have been assigned special functions. No such developed conception is suggested in Job.

The ethical standard of the time, expressed in Job's soliloquy (chaps. 29-31), is high. The Deuteronomic law is certainly presupposed as the code of society and in a few instances definitely indicated (Deut. 19:14; Job 24:2; Deut. 17:2 f.; 4:19; Job 31:26-28).

The various lines of evidence—literary and linguistic, and that of social and religious conditions—agree best with a date not far from 400 B.C., which Kuenen and Budde have advocated.

¹ *Job and Solomon*, p. 88.

² Cf. Friedländer, *Griechische Philosophie im Alten Testament* (1904), S. 90 f.

³ Cf. Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments*, S. 27.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE ELIHU SPEECHES

Discussion has continued so long and so determinedly concerning the relationship of the Elihu Speeches to the original poem, that comparatively little attention has been given to the literary and textual problems which these speeches offer. Hoffmann and Budde have recognized 32:2-5 as a secondary addition to the text, while Bickell and Hatch¹ have omitted numerous passages in accordance with the evidence of Origen's Hexapla and the Sahidic version. Siegfried, Budde, Duhm, and others have excluded on various grounds a number of verses as glosses.

In the insistence, however, upon the fact that these speeches are a later and inferior supplement to the poem, much lack of unity and many surprising inconsistencies have been laid to the charge of Elihu's verbose and awkward style. That the poetic diction and style of these chapters are far inferior to those of the original poet has already been recognized. This contrast remains even though a careful analysis of the chapters suggests the possibility of more than one author as an explanation for some faults of construction and curious inconsistencies.

For the sake of greater clearness in the following discussion it seems best to state at once the main outlines of the suggested analysis.

1. Chap. 34 (with the exception of vv. 28-33) is regarded as the work of an author different from the writer of the remaining chapters—not a supplementer of the Elihu Speeches but a second commentator on the Job poem.

2. The passage 32:11-16 is assumed as the probable introduction to chap. 34; 35:15, 16 are included with chap. 34.

3. The passage 32:2-5 of the prose introduction is treated as the addition of an editor who combined 32:11-16 and chap. 34 with the original Elihu Speeches.

4. The sections 34:28-33; 36:7b-9, 10b-13, 16, 17 and 36:26, 27b, 28a, 29-32; 37:2-5a, 6b, 11-12b, 13, which are shown by Origen's Hexapla and the Sahidic version to have been lacking in the primitive LXX text, are regarded as later interpolations. They are not taken into consideration in the general discussion of the chapters

¹ *Essays in Biblical Greek* (1889), pp. 215 f.

but reserved for special treatment. In the following discussion the reasons for the above analysis are set forth. For special questions of the text the notes on the text must be compared.

There is at least no intrinsic improbability in the hypothesis of a double authorship for the Elihu Speeches. If these speeches represent, as Cheyne has so aptly suggested, "the first theological criticism" on Job they might include the attempt of not one but two or more zealous pietists to correct the errors of Job and set the book in a proper religious light. No staunch defender of orthodoxy would have been unaware of the dangerous heresy of Job's protest; more than one might have been impelled to issue a supplementary tract or reply which would counteract its harmful tendencies and make the poem acceptable to the eyes of orthodoxy. Such criticisms might be immediately attached to the poem or might circulate for a time separately and be combined later by another hand with the original poem.

The tendency to reform and improve Job, shown by insertions and transpositions in the body of the poem, has been recognized in different degrees by most modern critics of the book. The theories of Hoffmann, Grill, and Laue may be mentioned in this connection; Duhm, Siegfried, and other commentators have a considerable list of interpolations. It is generally admitted that some transposition and rearrangement of the text must explain the failure of the symmetrical scheme of the poem after chap. 24 and the remarkable development of the thought.

Admitting the fact of such transpositions and corrective additions, the natural place for any considerable supplement or sustained attempt at criticism would be at the point where the original dialogue ceased. The somewhat rigid scheme of dialogue could here be disregarded and, by the simple device of the introduction of another speaker, opportunity would thus be afforded for free comment on the poem. That the Elihu Speeches represent such a supplement has been generally admitted, but the possibility of more than one critic has not, to the writer's knowledge, been suggested.

In 1875 Studer¹ advanced the theory that the entire poem represented the efforts of a School of Wise Men toward the solution of the

¹ *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, IV, S. 688-723.

problem of suffering; that its present form was due to an editorial hand which had gathered together the various contributions. He cited in support of his theory 15:2, 18; 34:2, 34. The latter verses undoubtedly suggest a Wise Men's debate, and this suggestion will be considered later.

This composition theory, which Cheyne has also supported in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, is impossible as an explanation for the original poem—the impassioned utterance of a great poet and a giant spirit. Moreover, the unified and symmetrical structure of the dialogue could hardly have resulted from such a process. The explanation is far too mechanical for the poem itself; but that a school of Wise Men and orthodox teachers later laid hands on the poem to correct and supplement it, seems more than probable. Kuenen's suggestion is entirely credible—that the book might never have found a place in the Canon without the reshaping of a hand guided by a more orthodox piety. Chaps. 32–37 of Job, which we know under the name of the Elihu Speeches, apparently represent the criticisms of two such would-be champions of orthodoxy. And as theological critics admittedly seldom agree, so these two have pondered the problem of Job's trials from rather different points of view.

The Wise Man who composed the supplement to Job comprised in chaps. 32, 33, 35–37 believed himself in possession of a solution of the problem of suffering more satisfying than any which the author of Job had found—a solution which it was his divine mission to enunciate. So convinced is he of the inspired nature of his message, that in true Hebrew fashion he identifies his thought with that of God (32:8; 36:4) and considers himself a champion of the divine righteousness (36:2, 3). It is his to “assert Eternal Providence, and justify the ways of God to men.” He will show that God does answer men's cries for light though Job has bitterly maintained his indifference. His very suffering, if Job did but know it, is God's message to him; its interpretation is to be sought through the medium of dreams and visions, or of an interpreter, who shall declare the meaning of his affliction and, bringing him to a humble spirit, procure his redemption (33:14–24).

This, then, is Elihu's God-given illumination. Suffering is to be regarded not as the visitation of God's wrath upon sin—the belief

of the friends and the essence of the old doctrine of retribution—but as a chastening, soul-purifying process, the testing of God to try out the baser elements in a man. The idea is not so entirely new or so remarkable as its author imagines. Already Eliphaz in 5:17 has suggested the thought of a loving purpose of God behind punishment.

Behold, happy is the man whom God correcteth:
Therefore, despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty.
For He maketh sore and bindeth up;
He woundeth, and His hands make whole.

But the poet did not offer it as a solution of the eternal mystery of suffering. To Elihu's author it seemed sufficient both for the universal problem and Job's particular case. The poet's tremendous upheavals of spirit and wild challenge of the Infinite were utterly strange to him. His pious faith did not question beyond the limits of the conventional; the problem in all its desperate reality he had never faced. Out of theological reflection, not profound experience, is born his answer to the Job problem.

He, scarcely more than the friends, accepts Job's protest of entire innocence but he is willing to admit that Job's reward far outweighs his desert, and finds, in this theory of the educative purpose of suffering, an answer to the enigma. Inadequate as the solution is, it yet springs from a far higher ethical and religious conception of God than that of the friends and represents the only possible categorical answer to the problem before which the poet leaves Job and his reader uncomprehending but satisfied. Elihu's theme, frequently reiterated, is expressed in 33:17, 30; it is God's purpose—

To turn a man from his way,
To cause him to cease from his pride.
To bring back his soul from destruction,
To enlighten with the light of life.

(Cf. also 36:15, 18, 19, 21.)

It is the word of a lower range of spirit and a narrower piety than that of the author of the original poem, but it is the expression of a sincere faith in a loving God—not to be lightly valued as a contribution to the religious problem.

Elihu believed himself to be, in the opinion of the writer, the interpreter through whom God would make known to Job the meaning of his pain. This interpretation of the much-quoted passage 33:23 f. is entirely in accordance with Elihu's attitude as an ambassador, divinely appointed to enlighten Job's darkness. The text problem is more fully discussed in the notes on the passage, but the context and meter of v. 23 make it very probable that the word "angel" is a later gloss. The significance of "the interpreter" was not understood and the allusion was supposed to be to an angel. In v. 22 we should read, "to death," rather than "to the deathbringers"; nothing else in the passage suggests a supernatural agent. The word translated "interpreter" is nowhere else in the Old Testament used of a supernatural being, but represents an ambassador. Such a conception of a definite intercessor with God does not appear in any other passage. Elihu is here arrogating to himself the office of the Daysman for whom Job has longed (9:33). He will lay his hand, so to speak, on both, and become interpreter between God and man.

This conception of his high mission would explain, and in part excuse, Elihu's attitude toward Job and the poet—the kindly tolerance of superior insight. Half apologetically he begins, explaining his previous silence on the ground of his youth and his present entrance into the discussion by the compelling impetus of his inspiration (32:18, 19, 20). It is not perhaps too fanciful to imagine in the plea of a younger speaker a slight justification of the writer's addition to the work of the earlier poet. The poet has failed of the solution which he, Elihu, knows himself fitted to bring to the demands of the perplexed and despairing Job. The tone of his remarks to Job, is, therefore, that of serious, kindly admonition, not of severe condemnation. He assures Job (33:6, 7), in words which echo the hero's cries, that he has nothing to fear from him; chides him for his misunderstanding of God's dealings with him (33:8-13); bids him answer if he find reply, "for I would justify thee"; reveals the meaning of his suffering (33:17 f.), and admonishes him not to thwart God's benevolent purpose by rebellion and haughtiness (36:18, 21). "But the wise in their own sight he regardeth not," are his last words of counsel to Job.

Elihu would bring Job to a better mind, illumine for him the

mysterious ways of Providence and find the ransom of his soul in a humble submission to the chastening hand (33:24; 36:18). It was the virtuous aim with which the friends began their exhortation to Job, but they early let their suspicion appear, that his great suffering must be the reward of equally great sin; stung by Job's irony they launch at last into violent denunciation of him. Elihu, undisturbed by reply, and serene in the consciousness of his God-given wisdom, pursues his mild-mannered homily to the end.

After his introductory remarks Elihu turns his attention exclusively to Job, and, with the exception of a casual mention in 35:4, the friends are not again brought into the discussion. With Job alone Elihu carries on his argument, often addressing the hero by name and calling on him to give heed (33:1, 5, 31 f.; 36:2; 37:14). In the manner of his direct address to Job, Elihu maintains the form of the dialogue, though Job is there never called by name.

Chap. 34.—If the foregoing summary suggests with any degree of correctness the prevailing spirit and manner of Elihu's exhortation to Job, chap. 34 stands out in sharp distinction from it. Both in style and thought chap. 34 separates itself from the other chapters; the manner of its introduction at once arouses suspicion. In 33:31–33 Elihu has just concluded an exhortation to Job:

If thou hast words give me answer;
Speak then, for I would justify thee;
Else give thou ear unto me,
Hold thy peace, I will teach thee wisdom.

It is singular to find this followed in 34:2–4 by an abrupt call to the Wise Men—who appear only in this section—to enter into judgment with the speaker on Job's case.

Hear now, ye Wise Men, my words,
Ye of knowledge, give ear unto me.

Various transpositions of this verse or of the address to Job in 33:31–33 have been suggested, but they do not obviate the difficulty. Upon the address in 34:2–4 follows a long arraignment of Job, directed exclusively to the Wise Men; in which Job is not addressed, but always mentioned in the third person; in which he is, moreover, mercilessly condemned as a blasphemer and "man of iniquity." The speaker forgets entirely the situation and the personal attitude

which Elihu maintains, and places us—as Meinhold has remarked, though in different connection—in the atmosphere of a Wise Men’s discussion or rabbinical debate.

It cannot be maintained that the Wise Men (34:2–4, 34), who are to listen to the arraignment of Job and confirm judgment against him, represent merely the friends. Their wisdom has already (32:11–16) been set aside. They may possibly be tacitly included, but it is a far wider audience of Wise Men—possibly understanding readers—whom the author summons to his hearing of the case. The presence of the suffering Job and his friends fades into the past to which they already, for this author, belonged. Job is tried and condemned before the court of the Wise Men with no opportunity for defense; the entire chapter is a polemic not only against Job but also against the poet of his sorrows.

No trace of the solution which Elihu has attempted to bring to Job’s aid appears; no hint of any new answer to the problem or the theory of chastening which is Elihu’s *raison d’être*. The argument is somewhat as follows. Job has accused God of injustice (34:5, 6); this is blasphemous and he thereby reveals himself as a sinner (34:7, 8). God’s punishments are always the just recompense of a man’s deeds (34:10, 11, 12); he is alone powerful—therefore alone just; and he recompenses evil deeds without regard to power or station (34:13–26). Job’s punishment is great; he must, then, have greatly sinned and his mad outcries for justice but heap sin upon sin (34:37). The matter will be so viewed by every true Wise Man who recognizes the unimpeachable justice of the supreme God (34:34, 35).

Here is the old recompense theory, against which Job’s author has contended, set forth in all its baldness, more harshly than by the friends. It suffices to explain the entire government of the universe. The author of chap. 34 has no touch of sympathy with the soul struggles of a Job under the apparent injustice of Providence; he will bring no theory with which to meet Job’s difficulty but expose with finality the errors of the hero for the benefit of those who hear and read his protest. Verily Job and his author “speak without knowledge” and their “words are without understanding.”

The author of chap. 34 viewed neither Job’s protest nor the divine government with the eyes of the original Elihu writer. The

harshness of his doctrine of recompense compares ill with the real religious depth of Elihu's theory and his sympathy toward Job. The former's is a God of power and justice, the latter's one of power and love.

One further argument for the separation of chap. 34 from the chapters which precede and follow should be mentioned. Whereas 34:2 is quite out of place after 33:33, 35:2 forms an admirable continuation of Elihu's address to Job in 33:33. The entire thirty-fifth chapter carries on consistently the tone and manner of chap. 33. Canons of literary criticism both formal and material would thus lead us to distinguish two lines of thought and two authors in the Elihu Speeches.

32:11-16.—Though chap. 34 might form an independent whole, there is needed a fuller introduction, which is to be found in 32:11-16. That section destroys the continuity of chap. 32 and falls out of the manner and tone of Elihu's introduction. V. 11, "Behold I waited for your words," appears to begin a second explanation of the situation which vv. 6-10 have already made perfectly clear. The obvious weak duplication of v. 10 by v. 17 suggests very decidedly that a section has been inserted after v. 10, and v. 17 added to restore the original connection. V. 18 continues far better than any of the intervening verses the thread of vv. 8-10 and the present sequence of vv. 15-17 f. is extremely awkward if not impossible. V. 16, which is usually read as a question, has no interrogative particle, and, though an omitted one may be assumed, the natural rendering is declarative. The difficulties of the section have been recognized by recent critics of the speeches and they have resorted to various schemes of transposition to relieve the situation. (The suggestions are given in the notes on the text.)

The primitive LXX omitted a part of this section—a part of v. 11, vv. 12, 15, 16. V. 17 was paraphrased by the line, "Answering, Elihu said, 'I will speak again.'" It is possible that the exemplar employed by the LXX translator may have showed some indications of insertion here, which led to the omission of a few verses, but it is not at all probable that the translator did not read the verses. The combination of the two documents by an editor must have taken place long before a LXX translation, and the explanation of this

omission lies probably in a marked tendency of the LXX to avoid useless repetition. Vv. 11, 12, 15, 16, when one has already read the early part of the chapter, cannot be said to add anything to the statement of the case. This is recognized by every intelligent reader, and hence much abuse of Elihu's style.

For this very reason the verses are not easily explained as a mere gloss. We agree with Dillmann's¹ opinion that if the verses had not been at hand they would not have been added. There was no further need for explanation; the silence of the friends had been stated, Elihu's entrance justified, and his apology made. A gloss should have some shadow of excuse for its insertion.

As a parallel introduction, transferred here from its place at the head of chap. 34 by the combiner of the two documents, the section vv. 11-16 is far more intelligible. The verses correspond to the tone of chap. 34 in indignation that Job has not been condemned (v. 12) and in absence of any respect for the poet's answer (vv. 13, 14). The answer of this speaker is to be far more trenchant. No word is here addressed to Job, and in v. 12 he is mentioned by name as in 34:5, 7, 35, 36. In vv. 15, 16 the author drops altogether the thin disguise of the dramatic situation which he has assumed and speaks of the friends also in the third person. Their wisdom has not availed to condemn Job; therefore,

Hear now, ye Wise Men, my words,
Ye of knowledge, give ear unto me.

The motives expressed in the two introductions are those which correspond to the character of the two arguments. That of Elihu is impelled by consciousness of a new and divine inspiration, that of the anti-Job author by moral indignation against the friends for failing to reprove Job summarily and completely.

Only two other verses in the Elihu chapters should be placed with 32:11-16 and chap. 34. These are the last two verses of chap. 35, which have caused much difficulty in their present position.

1. It is clear that they do not properly follow after 35:14, unless the text is radically emended, whereas 36:2 forms a natural continuation of the suspended sentence in 35:14.²

¹ *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. Akademie zu Berlin* (1890), Bd. II, S. 1345.

² The headings of the chapters may be disregarded as editorial imitations of those in the preceding dialogue. Since Elihu is not answered, it is obvious that the formula has no significance and it often interrupts the continuity of the address.

35:14 Yea, for thou sayest thou beholdest Him not,
 Thy cause is before Him, thou waitest for Him,—
 36:2 Suffer me a little, that I may show thee
 For I have yet words for God.

2. The introductory וְעַתָּה "and now" of v. 15 should evidently preface a summary of what has preceded. To read the verse at the end of chap. 35 followed by 36:2 destroys the significance of the construction.

3. The verses bear the distinctive characteristics of chap. 34; they speak of Job in the third person, and utter his condemnation in the familiar phrase "without knowledge."

4. The primitive LXX omitted these verses. The verses are hardly a duplication of what has been said and it seems possible that the translator did not read them in this place. The alternative of arbitrary omission is, however, also possible.

The natural place for these two verses is before 34:34 and after 34:27, omitting the later insertion of vv. 28-33. In that position they bring the charge against Job after the account of God's visitations upon the wicked in 34:20-27. Vv. 34, 35 of chap. 34 then introduce the appeal to the verdict of the Wise Men, parallel to that in 34:2-4; v. 37 adds the appropriate conclusion to the drastic judgment pronounced on Job. The verses probably owe their position at the end of chap. 35 to accidental displacement. They were probably displaced from their original position by the insertion of 34:28-33 and a later hand gave them their present place, perhaps because of a supposed connection with 35:13.

Much ingenuity has been exercised in an effort to relieve the awkwardness of that position. Bickell and Hatch, of course, omit the verses, while Duhm and Beer transpose v. 16 after v. 8 and connect v. 15 with 36:2. The suggestion can hardly be regarded as attractive or convincing. A much more satisfactory solution is afforded by the analysis suggested above, which connects the verses with chap. 34.

The argument of the second Wise Man would thus include 32:11-16; 34:1-27; 35:15, 16; 34:33-37. No very elaborate process of combination and transposition is necessary to account for the addition of such a document to the other Elihu sec-

tions. The activity of the editor or combiner seems to have been confined to the transposition of 32:11-16 to place it with the other introduction; the addition of vv. 2-5 of the prose introduction and a few rather meaningless glosses (e.g., 34:10, 16), intended to emphasize the application of the argument.

32:2-5.—This repetitious and clumsy portion of the prose introduction has been recognized by Hoffmann and Budde as a secondary addition to the chapter. There are several considerations which make this conclusion probable.

1. V. 2 introduces Elihu ceremoniously as Elihu, the son of Barachel, the Buzite, of the tribe of Ram. In v. 6 he is again formally introduced, this time without the designation "of the tribe of Ram." If v. 2 had originally preceded, the formula of v. 6 would naturally have read, "And Elihu answered and said," or "Elihu, the Buzite, answered and said," in the fashion of the early dialogue.

2. The verses add to our knowledge nothing which is not to be gathered in poetic form from the remainder of the chapter. It would be a remarkably stupid author who took pains to state at length in prose the content of his immediately following verses.

3. The section appears like an awkward summary of the parallel introductions in 32:6-10, 18-22; 32:11-16. There is an attempt to unite the reasons offered by Elihu for his appearance and those of the second Wise Man. The result is a most unfortunate combination, in which Elihu's anger is four distinct times enkindled. Vv. 3, 5 correspond to vv. 11-13, while v. 4 answers to vv. 6, 7.

It has been the fashion to accuse the unfortunate Elihu of every form of literary transgression, but if he could be relieved of the meaningless repetition of chap. 32, the gravest accusation against him would be removed. The other sections may be often bombastic and wordy—seldom sublime—but they are nowhere so intolerable as chap. 32 in its present form.

If any probability has been established for the hypothesis of a double authorship of the Elihu sections, it is most natural to suppose that this curious and awkward prose introduction is the work of an editor or combiner, who thought thus to unite the two prefaces and make easier the transition. Some such addition we should expect under these circumstances.

The sections 32:11-16, 34 must have been originally preceded by a superscription similar to v. 6. This supposition raises a further question. Is it probable that the Second Wise Man also bore the name of Elihu? If such were the case, the polemic must have been written after the Elihu Speeches had become known in connection with Job and the name already current was adopted to secure a hearing for the later contribution. The combination of the two at a later time would then be a foregone conclusion.

Since chap. 34, however, is not especially directed against the Elihu Speeches but rather denounces the work of the earlier poet, it was probably composed quite independently of them. In that case this polemic was perhaps headed by another name, which the editor saw fit to discard in favor of Elihu. It is not impossible that the phrase "of the tribe of Ram" in the prose introduction is a remnant of the title of the Second Wise Man.

The attempt has already been made to characterize his contribution, which we have sought to reconstruct. It represents not a supplement to the Elihu Speeches but another criticism on the Job controversy, conceived in a different temper—another outcome of the discussion which the boldness of the poem could not have failed to arouse. Whether written at the same time as the Elihu Speeches or at a somewhat later date, it would be difficult to determine. It appears probable that the more personal reply to Job was issued first and the polemic arraignment to the Wise Men somewhat later.

There are perhaps fewer Aramaisms in chap. 34 than the other sections exhibit; as poetry it is stronger and less halting—with the possible exception of chap. 37. Both writers employ the prevailing meter of the poem; both are in the wider sense Wise Men, who write after the manner of the Wisdom literature. The author of chap. 34 shows especially the influence of the Wise Men's manner of debate. The original poem had been carefully studied by both and is quoted with considerable accuracy; such references are usually noted in connection with the text.

THE OMISSIONS OF THE LXX TEXT

The second intricate problem to be considered in an examination of the text of the Elihu Speeches is that of the verses omitted by the

original form of the Greek text of the LXX. The unique importance of the LXX translation is recognized by all Old Testament scholars. In the criticism of Jeremiah the large omissions of the LXX have been accepted as evidence of later insertions in the work. In regard to Job, however, peculiar suspicion of the worth of its testimony has been entertained, especially with reference to the omissions of considerable sections which are found in the Hebrew text. Up to the present time only Bickell¹ and Hatch² among scholars have accepted the form of the text in the LXX as an earlier form of the text. The omissions are not confined to the Elihu Speeches but, as is well known, those of any considerable extent are more frequent here than in any other portion of the book.

Origen³ in the Epistle to Africanus bears testimony to the omissions of the Greek text of his time. He found verses of the Hebrew lacking in the LXX to the number of three or four, sometimes even fourteen or nineteen verses. The total number of missing verses he estimated as four hundred. In his edition of the Hexapla Origen supplied these deficiencies from the Greek translation of Theodotion and marked the insertions with asterisks. The following Greek MSS have preserved the Hexaplaric marks: (1) Cod. Colbertinus, MS 1952 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; (2) Cod. Vaticanus 346, numbered by Holmes and Parsons 248.

These two manuscripts are mentioned by Hatch, Dillmann,⁴ and others in the discussion of the LXX omissions, but they appear to have overlooked the fact that Codex Alexandrinus, an uncial Greek manuscript in the British Museum, also bears traces of the Hexaplaric asterisks. This codex was collated for Holmes and Parsons and noted with MS 248 as showing the asterisks. According to the evidence of these editors the Codex Alexandrinus confirms the fact of omission in the majority of cases where it is evidenced by the other witnesses to the early Greek text.

It has been possible to examine this manuscript only in the facsimile published by the British Museum. This examination, however, establishes beyond question the fact that the codex bore the

¹ *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (1892), pp. 137 ff., 241 ff., 327 ff.; (1893), pp. 1 ff., 153 ff.

² *Essays in Biblical Greek*, pp. 215 f.

³ *Origen Op.* ed. Delarue, Vol. I, p. 15.

⁴ *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. Akademie zu Berlin* (1890), Bd. II, S. 1345.

asterisks. In regard to the larger omissions, which will be later considered, it is in each case possible to confirm the fact of omission, though the limits of such omission are sometimes difficult to determine, owing to the faintness of the marginal indications. The evidence of the manuscript is quoted where the writer's observations tended to confirm the witness of Holmes and Parsons and in a few other instances. It is, at all events, necessary to include Codex Alexandrinus as an important witness to the omissions of the early LXX text.

Jerome¹ translated the poem of Job into Latin and employed Origen's asterisks. In the preface to his edition of Job he states that he has added missing verses to the number of 700 or 800. Two Latin MSS preserve the asterisks: (1) a MS of the Bodleian (Cod. Lat. 2426) containing the Old Latin version and Jerome's translation; (2) a MS of the Monastery of Marmoutiers (published by Sabatier in *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae*). Origen's Hexaplaric marks are also found in the Syriac Hexapla as represented by a MS of the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

Finally in 1883 Ciasca² discovered in the Museum Borgianum at Rome a Coptic-Sahidic version of Job which lacks substantially the sections indicated by the asterisks of Origen's Hexapla.

These witnesses agree as to many small and some larger omissions of the early LXX text. The testimony establishes the fact of omission at certain points though the limits are often variously fixed. In estimating the value of their combined evidence, certain considerations must be borne in mind.

1. There are instances in which Origen has obviously failed to recognize the Greek of the LXX as a translation of the MT and has supplied what is in reality a duplicate translation from Theodotion; e.g., 36:28b, 33; 37:1, 12. Occasionally he has assumed that a Greek verse represented a certain Hebrew text to which it bears only a superficial resemblance, e.g., 36:12, 17.

2. Great possibilities of error are inherent in this system of asterisks. The mark might easily be supposed to refer to an entire couplet when but one line was really omitted or vice versa. In transmission the asterisks might be misplaced or lost altogether.

¹ *Praefatio in Job*, IX (1097).

² Published in *Sacrorum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica*, Vol. II.

For these reasons the Sahidic version furnishes an invaluable check on the evidence furnished by the Greek and Latin manuscripts, since it represents the form of the LXX text before the insertions were made by Origen. The Sahidic occasionally retains a verse or line which the Hexaplaric marks indicate as omitted or omits something which they retain. There is, however, a surprising agreement between the testimony of the Syriac Hexapla and the Sahidic. In general, it is hardly safe to trust the evidence of any single one of these groups of authorities—the Greek or Latin manuscripts, the Syriac Hexapla, or the Sahidic—in determining the question of an omission.

When the limits of the primitive LXX text have been determined with some degree of accuracy, there are still reservations to be made before accepting it as a witness to the early forms of the Hebrew text. Certain well-defined tendencies of the LXX translation become manifest in a study of the omitted passages of the chapters under discussion.

1. The LXX often omits or condenses what appears mere repetition in altered form of an idea previously expressed. This may apply to a phrase (e.g., 33:14; 34:22); to the second member of a parallel verse structure (e.g., 33:8a; 33:20b); to a verse or more which restates a thought in altered form for emphasis (e.g., 33:32, 33); to quotations from other portions of the poem whether verbal or somewhat less exact (34:3, 7). The recognition of such a tendency on the part of the LXX translator affords the most natural explanation for the omission of such verses or parts of verses as those indicated above. Interpreted as glosses they would be purposeless, and the quotations from the dialogue are usually essential to the argument.

Such a tendency would naturally have a disastrous effect on the translation of a Hebrew poem, the character of which depends so largely on balanced structure and the emphasis of repetition. Its workings are, however, to be detected in many cases by comparison with the verse structure of the Hebrew. Elsewhere, if this motive for omission furnishes a reasonable explanation, it is safer usually to retain the Hebrew text.

2. The LXX has made occasional omissions of a difficult line or verse of the Hebrew (e.g., 36:19; 37:18). Whether this explana-

tion may be assumed for a passage of several verses is doubtful. In such cases the translator appears to have adapted or altered, sometimes to have mistranslated, but seldom to have omitted entirely.

3. The Greek translator of Job—or translators as the case may be—has been accused of omitting portions repugnant to his religious sense or Hellenic taste. In view of the quite irreproachable theology of the Elihu Speeches this motive for omission would not be in evidence here; it would be difficult to point out an instance where it appears probable. Much which Elihu says must have offended a really delicate Hellenic sense, but the omitted passages are seldom more open to this somewhat vague charge than others quite faithfully reproduced.

These tendencies have hardly been sufficiently regarded by the two scholars who have accepted the witness of the LXX to an earlier form of the Hebrew text. Hatch, who was primarily a Greek scholar, seems to have confined himself too closely to the study of the Greek text without sufficiently considering the structure and thought of the original Hebrew. Moreover he has occasionally accepted the widest possible limits for an insertion and has not rigorously employed the corrective of the balance of evidence.

Dillmann¹ subjected Hatch's results to a searching criticism in which he has undoubtedly exposed many weak points in the argument and shown that the LXX omissions can often be explained by arbitrary motives. But his conclusion that all the omissions are to be accounted for in this way is too sweeping. Dillmann's verdict was indorsed by Driver,² though with less positiveness.

Bickell became convinced by the publication of the Sahidic version that the evidence of the LXX text was of supreme importance. His edition of Job³ follows the LXX closely in both large and small omissions—occasionally when the parallel verse structure or continuity of thought is obviously destroyed. He has also a special strophical and metrical theory which necessitates some omissions other than those indicated by the LXX text.

If the treatment of Hatch or Bickell is adopted in its entirety, it supposes a very active redactor of the poem responsible for many

¹ *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. Akademie zu Berlin* (1890), Bd. II, S. 1345.

² *The Contemporary Review* (1896), pp. 257 f.

³ *Das Buch Hiob* (1894).

small glosses and numerous larger additions of varied character and excellence or innumerable corrections and additions by many hands after the time of the Greek translation.

The conclusion from the evidence can hardly be summarized in a sentence to the effect that the passages omitted by the LXX do or do not constitute a part of the original Hebrew text. Each case must be judged for itself, in accordance with whatever canons of criticism a study of the material may enable one to establish. As has already been stated, the briefer omissions may usually be explained by some of the tendencies of the translator.

This explanation is, however, neither satisfying nor adequate for the larger connected sections omitted in 34:28-33; 36:7-17; 36:26-37:14. It becomes necessary in these cases to inquire whether the hypothesis of an interpolation in the Hebrew, after the first LXX translation, is not more in accord with internal probability and the textual evidence. A study of the omitted verses in the section 36:26-37:14 affords the clearest demonstration that such an addition has taken place, and this section will therefore be considered first. The actual evidence of the manuscripts, together with the suggestion of various scholars, is given in the notes on the text.

36:26-37:14.—The general theme of this section is easily stated—the greatness and wisdom of God as revealed in some of the phenomena of Nature. On closer examination the passage presents a decidedly confused and disconnected description of a rainstorm and of the approach of winter, heralded by snow and ice. Of this account 36:33 in its present form is quite unintelligible and the transitions from the thunderstorm to the snowfall and again in 37:11 to the lightning are, to say the least, sudden. The interruption between the lightning and the swift-following thunder caused by the verses 36:33, 37:1 is very awkward. Without constant reference to the Hebrew text, it would be impossible to make clear the puzzling lack of antecedent in some instances or the remarkable construction which must be assumed in some verses. Hoffmann, Siegfried, Budde, and Duhm have resorted to various radical emendations in an attempt to improve the sequence and construction of the verses in question.

Yet the description might pass as a whole in spite of its manifest weakness were it not for the strong external evidence to the contrary.

This evidence may be summarized as follows: the LXX supported by the Sahidic and Syriac Hexapla omitted several of these verses (36:26, 27*b*, 28*a*, 29–32; 37:2–5*a*, 6*b*–11, 12*ab*, 13)—verses which, standing alone, develop one theme consistently and the omission of which leaves the text far clearer and more intelligible. In the face of this evidence the probability of an interpolation becomes considerable. The following division adheres almost without exception to the outlines suggested by a careful comparison of the omitted sections in the three Greek and the Latin manuscripts, the Syriac Hexapla, and the Sahidic version.

V. 26 of chap. 36, omitted by all these witnesses, forms presumably the starting-point for the insertion. Of the next two verses it is evident that line *b* of v. 27 and line *a* of v. 28 did not stand in the LXX text. They might have been omitted as superfluous, but with a slight text emendation, supported by the Syriac and Vulgate, they form an excellent independent verse structure. In the same way v. 27*a* and v. 28*b* (LXX, Sah. text) compose a good intelligible couplet.

27*b* He poureth out the rain as His mist,
 28*a* Which the skies drop down from above.
 27*a* For He restraineth the drops of the water,
 28*b* Makes His cloud to o'ershadow many men.

Though these verses are at least as well balanced and readable as the present text there would seem no necessity for division, were it not for the evidence of the verses which follow. Vv. 29–32, of which the LXX apparently had not a trace, continue after vv. 27*b*, 28*a* a description of the rainstorm; this is curiously interrupted by 36:33; 37:1.

The asterisks indicate that these verses (36:33; 37:1) were lacking in the LXX, but a closer examination shows that both the Greek and the Sahidic texts read them. After v. 28 are found in the Sahidic and Syriac Hexapla, the Gk. MSS B. Alex. Colb. Vat. (248) and nine other cursives, two verses, which were supposedly not in the Hebrew text. Dillmann, Hatch, Bickell, and Duhm have, however, recognized that the second of these verses represents the Hebrew of 37:1. (For the Gk. and Heb. text, cf. the notes on the text of these verses.) The possibility is thus suggested that the former

verse may represent the Hebrew verse which precedes 37:1—that is 36:33. In its present unintelligible form, the Hebrew appears unlike the Greek, but without violent alteration it could be reconstructed to read as follows:

He appointeth a season for the cattle;
They know the place of their lying down.

This certainly represents the Greek rendering, is not far removed from the radicals of the Hebrew text, and gives an intelligible and appropriate reading. It must be remembered that if these verses (36:33; 37:1) stood in a wrong context in the Hebrew, considerable corruption might ensue to make them readable after 36:32. On the other hand, it would be strange if the Greek translator had invented a verse so like the Hebrew and yet so much more intelligible and appropriate. These verses should, then, follow v. 28*b* in the original text.

A further evidence for their proper position remains. MS C of the Greek and twenty-one cursives read these verses after 37:5*a*, followed by v. 5*b*. Now if we omit the verses which the LXX actually lacked (36:29–32; 37:2–5*a*), the verses under discussion (36:33; 37:1) are found in the same position in both groups of Greek manuscripts, the Syriac Hexapla, and the Sahidic—namely after 36:28*b* and preceding 37:5*b*. The verse sequence is then perfectly acceptable and natural.

27*a* For He restraineth the drops of the water,
28*b* Makes His cloud to o'ershadow many men.
33 He appointeth a season for the cattle;
They know the place of their lying down.
37:1 At this is not thy heart stirred,
And leapeth it not within thee?
5*b* Great things He worketh,—we know Him not;
6*a* For He saith to the snow, "Fall earthward."

The foregoing verses say nothing of the rainstorm, while the omitted sections give a connected and vivid description of one. Is it probable that this is mere coincidence?

The division is equally clear in the verses which follow. As it stands 37:4*c* has no proper conclusion, "He stayeth them not when His voice is heard." The "them" has no logical antecedent nor

following explanation, but if the next half-line¹ of the insertion v. 6*b* is read after it, the construction and thought are admirable.

He stayeth not, when His voice is heard,
The rain and His mighty storm.

V. 6*b* in its present position follows very curiously upon v. 6*a*.

The gathering rainstorm is well portrayed in the verses of the insertion—the clouds (36:29, 30), the lightning (36:32), the thunder (37:2-4) and at last the sharp, fierce, downpour of the rain (37:4*c*, 6*b*).

V. 7² should undoubtedly follow v. 6*b*. It is the snow, and not the rain, which sets a seal upon men's work and leads them to ponder the wonder of God's way. The phrase is very apt when one remembers how a great snowstorm hinders the customary activity of men. V. 8 tells of its effect on the wild animals, vv. 9, 10 of the coming of cold and ice.

With vv. 11-12*b*, which the best witnesses for the LXX text omit, the theme is again the rainstorm of which vv. 7-10 have been silent. V. 12 with the exception of the last clause is indicated by asterisks in some forms of the Greek, but the present LXX has a duplicate translation of v. 12*c* and it is also read by the Sahidic. Only v. 12*a*, *b*, referring to the lightning and cloud of v. 11, should, therefore, be included with the insertion. This couplet followed by v. 13 furnishes a fitting conclusion to the poem of the rainstorm.

12*a* And is turned about on every side,
To work according to His wisdom,—
13 Whether for judgment on His land,
Or if in mercy He send it.

V. 12*c*, *d*, also forms a good couplet, which summarizes the preceding verses of the original text, and introduces the exhortation to Job in v. 14.

12*c* All these things He hath commanded them,
12*d* On the widespread face of the earth.
14 Hear this, Oh Job, and give pause;
Ponder the marvels of God.

If the lines of division suggested by the external evidence are followed, two distinct and independent conceptions are to be distinguished in the section 36:26-37:14. The verses omitted in the

¹ V. 5*a* is probably a gloss on v. 4*b*. Cf. notes on text

² Cf. notes on text.

primitive LXX compose a Psalm of a Thunderstorm—God's mighty instrument of blessing or punishment; there is no allusion to Job or to other phenomena of nature. The argument of Elihu freed from the interwoven verses becomes far clearer. God's providence, is shown forth by the overhanging clouds, by His care for the dumb cattle and the wonders of the snow and ice. A similar thought is developed in Ps. 147:8 f.

After v. 13 only one verse is omitted by the LXX witnesses in the remainder of the chapter. On a theory of arbitrary omission, it would be remarkable that the section 36:26—37:14 should have been so radically abbreviated and the following section left almost untouched. Nothing in the character of the omitted verses, linguistic or religious, suggests a reason for such a procedure. The mere supposition that the LXX translators wished to relieve the poem of undue length cannot account for the phenomenon of so consistent and independent an omission.

The strongest argument for the probability of an insertion is to be drawn from the vicissitudes of the verses 36:33; 37:1. No theory of omission will explain satisfactorily their present position in the text, that in the Sahidic and some Greek MSS after 36:28, in others a place after 37:5a. In the interweaving of the two texts the verses were inserted where they now stand and became corrupted. Origen failed to recognize that the Hebrew verses were represented in the Greek and supplied a duplicate translation from Theodotion, allowing the Greek verses to retain their original position after v. 28b. In other Greek manuscripts when the insertion was made from Theodotion, the connection of these verses (36:33; 37:1) with 37:5b was retained and the insertion was introduced before instead of after them.

Bickell has followed the outlines of this division in most cases, but by reading the MT in 36:33 he loses the clearness of the distinction. He has also retained parts of 37:11, 12 which belong with the insertion, and he has not attempted to reconstruct the inserted poem. Hatch suggested that in the section 36:22—37:13 four poems—two original and two added—had been fused together. The theory is open to Dillmann's criticism, that it is far too artificial.

A motive for the insertion of the Psalm of the Rainstorm is not

far to seek. Elihu's argument was drawn from the wonders of creation, and the psalm was in entire harmony. 36:27a perhaps gave the immediate suggestion for insertion. The title, Psalm of the Rainstorm, has been employed for this poem because of its likeness to the psalm character in the religious interpretation of nature. A similar theme is developed in Ps. 107:33-37. The saving mercy of the rain upon a hot, dry land might well inspire a psalm of thanksgiving, even as the terror of the lightning would suggest swift divine judgment. The poem as a whole is printed below in order to show its continuity and the consistency of its theme.

- 36:26 Lo, God is exalted, we know Him not;
 The number of His years is unsearchable.
 27 He poureth out the rain as His mist,
 28a Which the skies drop down from above.
 29 Who can know the spreading of the cloud,
 The thunderings of His pavilion?
 30 Lo, about Him He spreadeth the cloud,
 And He covereth the tops of the mountains.
 31 For thus He judgeth the peoples;
 Yea, and gives food in abundance.
 32 About His hands He wrappeth the lightning,
 He directeth it unto its goal.
 37:2 Hark now, and hear the rumbling of His voice,
 The muttering that goeth forth from His mouth.
 3 Under all the heavens He sendeth it forth,
 His lightning upon the ends of the earth.
 4 And after it roareth a voice,—
 He thundereth with the voice of His majesty.
 He stayeth not, when His voice is heard,
 6b The rain and His mighty storm.
 11 Yea, He ladeth the thick cloud with lightning;
 The cloud scattereth forth His light,
 12a And is turned about on every side,
 b To work according to His wisdom,—
 13 Whether for judgment on His land
 Or if in mercy He send it.

34:28-33.—External and internal evidence unite to demonstrate the fact of an interpolation in 36:25—37:14. In regard to the omitted sections in 34:28-33 and 36:7-17 the matter is less clear.

In 34:28-33 six continuous verses are shown by all the chief witnesses to have been omitted in the early form of the LXX text. The question again arises as to whether the omission may be due to the difficulty of the text or its reiteration of earlier statements. There are, it is true, problems of interpretation in vv. 31-33, but the actual translation need not have offered exceptional difficulty. Theodotion and the other versions render the verses with a considerable degree of accuracy. On the other hand, the thought of the passage is quite distinct from what has preceded. It introduces the national disaster of the reign of an evil king—a decidedly new thought.

If there appears no obvious reason for so extensive an omission at this point, certain indications lead us to question the place of these verses in the context. The connection between v. 28 and v. 27 or v. 26 is very strange.

- 27 For that they turned from following Him,
Unto all His ways gave no heed.
28 To bring unto Him the cry of the poor,
And the cry of the needy He heareth.

The sequence is not greatly improved if, with Budde, Duhm, and Beer, v. 27 is omitted as a gloss. V. 26 reads:

He crusheth and dismayeth the wicked;
In the sight of men's eyes doth He smite them.

V. 28 follows strangely on this. Must God then destroy the wicked before the cry of the poor and needy can reach him? The versions, moreover, offer no support for the omission of v. 27. The transition at the end of the section is no better. After v. 27, which summarizes the account of God's visitations on the wicked, would follow most naturally the judgment on Job in vv. 34-37. The arrangement already suggested, whereby 34:27 is followed by 35:15, 16 and 34:33-37, furnishes a far more appropriate conclusion to the chapter. It cannot, however, be affirmed on that ground that the verses might not have formed a part of the Elihu sections. The evidence only indicates that the passage appears out of place in the charge against Job and that the arbitrary omission of this unbroken section is more difficult to explain than its

insertion. A final decision on this case is only possible after a consideration of the omission in 36:6-17.

36:7b-9, 10a-13, 16, 17.—The asterisks in this section indicate that the LXX translation lacked the vv. 5b-9, 10b, c, 11, 13, 16. It has however been recognized by various scholars—Bickell, Dillmann, Budde, Duhm—that the LXX text of vv. 12a, 15, 17 shows traces of the Hebrew text through v. 7a. This conclusion is borne out by the evidence of the Sahidic text. Duhm remarks in this connection, “Uebrigens fehlen die nächsten fünf Disticha 7b-11 in der ursprünglichen LXX und es ist nicht unmöglich, dass Hatch und Bickell mit ihrer Streichung im Recht sind, doch würde ich ihnen eher folgen, wenn LXX entweder v. 11 hätte oder auch v. 12 vermissen liesse.”

There are two objections to be raised to this statement: (1) The LXX undoubtedly read v. 10a, as the asterisks and the Sahidic text indicate. (2) V. 12 of the LXX cannot represent v. 12 of the Hebrew text which, therefore, belongs with the omitted verses, 10b-13. (Cf. notes on text of v. 12.) Undoubtedly vv. 11, 12 of the present text complement each other and if one of them stood in the original text, the evidence for an insertion would be greatly weakened.

What the Greek v. 12—supported by the Sahidic and a quotation in Clement of Alexandria (Strom. 4. 26, p. 641)—actually represents is an exact translation of the Heb. v. 6a, followed by a couplet not found in the Hebrew. (For the Greek text and its Hebrew equivalent cf. the notes on the text.) The Hebrew represented may be translated as follows:

For they seek not the knowledge of the Lord;
And chastened, they yet hearken not.

The Greek of v. 12 cannot be regarded even as a free translation of the Massoretic text, but a not too close observer in comparing texts might suppose that it represented the Hebrew because of one similar phrase. The verse would, in consequence, remain without asterisks, though it obviously belongs with the insertion in vv. 7b-9, 10b-13, 16.

When the real limits of the omission have been recognized, the problem is scarcely less puzzling. If the LXX translators are responsible for the discrepancies between the Greek and Hebrew texts, grave charges are to be laid at their door. They not only, on this supposition, omitted eighteen lines from a possible thirty

in vv. 7b-17, but they placed v. 6a before v. 12, which they altered beyond recognition, v. 7a after v. 15, and v. 7b after v. 16. Do we find elsewhere such curiously violent treatment of the Hebrew at the hands of its Greek translators?

A reasonable motive for such a procedure is difficult to find. The diction of the passage is unusually prosaic but, with the exception of v. 16, not obscure. Neither is there anything objectionable from a religious point of view. The verses have, indeed, a more general reference than most of Elihu's words, with no particular allusion to Job's case. But if the LXX translators merely saw fit to abbreviate the poem here, it is curious that they so unnecessarily violated its order. Vv. 6 and 7a might have retained their present position and been followed by v. 10a. The procedure appears more like that of an interpolator than of a translator who held his text in any degree of respect.

A further test may be applied to discover whether the remaining verses, read in the order of the Greek, form a clearer, more intelligible argument. The LXX evidently read the entire v. 5 but condensed it somewhat. This was followed by a verse consisting of v. 10a and v. 6a (=Gk. v. 12a). It is obvious that v. 6a in the present Gk. text is a duplicate translation from Theodotion of the line which occurs in the LXX before v. 12. Verse 12, according to the Greek, should be followed by vv. 14, 15. In the LXX of v. 15b is recognizable the Hebrew v. 6b and in v. 17 of the Greek, v. 7a of the Hebrew. Elihu's argument would then be as follows:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 5 | Lo, God is mighty in strength;
Rejecteth not the pure of heart. |
| 10a | Through chastening He openeth their ear, |
| 6a | But he granteth not life to the wicked. |
| 12 (LXX) | For they seek not the knowledge of the Lord;
And chastened, they yet hearken not. |
| 14 | Their soul perisheth in youth,
Their life like to the unclean. |
| 15 | But the afflicted by affliction He delivereth,
Through suffering He openeth his ear. |
| 6b | Judgment for the oppressed He giveth;
From the just withholdeth not justice. |
| 18 | Let not wrath stir thee against chastening,
Greatness of ransom turn away thy heart. |

By the omission of the obelized verses, the development of the thought does not lose in force and certainly gains infinitely in clearness.

Beginning with the antithetic parallelism in v. 5 the passage contrasts God's dealing with the wicked and with those whom He would save through affliction and chastening. Vv. 18, 19, 21 convey the warning which this lesson should bring to Job. "Be not rebellious against the suffering God inflicts. Become not as the wicked." The thought is clearly the one most characteristic of Elihu, more directly expressed than in chap. 33. Dillmann has declared that after the omission of the obelized verses Elihu's *Leidenzucht* teaching is no longer recognizable. We cannot escape the impression that it is far more consistently and clearly developed than in the present form of the text and nothing of the argument for Job's case is lost. It is possible to read the chapter as it stands and win a fairly intelligible sense, but it gains infinitely when the LXX text is followed. Is it justifiable to assert that this desirable result is due to the literary taste of the LXX translators?

Dillmann has further stated that it would take a magician to reconstruct the Hebrew text from the Greek but the latter may easily be understood as a free reworking of the Hebrew. The statement is hardly accurate. In the verses which the LXX reads, it reproduces the corresponding Hebrew with considerable accuracy. Only one verse of its text (v. 12) has apparently been replaced by one of the insertion. The order of the verses, as shown by the Sahidic, appears very natural. The easier hypothesis is really that of an interpolator.

The couplet vv. 10a, 6a was divided and combined at two different points with the insertion; the verse 6b, 7a was shifted to a position before the insertion to make place for vv. 16, 17. The main section vv. 7b-9, 10b-13 was then added, interrupted only by the employment of v. 10a, and the original v. 12 was either dropped at this time or later identified with the present v. 12. After vv. 14, 15 the interpolator restored connection with the context by the addition of vv. 16, 17 referring to Job. The process of rearrangement is not remarkably complicated for an interpolator but an equal amount of alteration by a Greek translator is almost unexplainable, since the meaning of the Hebrew text has not been wrested.

It remains to consider the character and continuity of the omitted verses (7b-9, 10b-13). They form seven quite regular, though very unpoetic, couplets and, read consecutively, picture the fate of evil kings. When God punishes their wickedness and commands obedience, the choice of repentance and happiness or a dreadful end in their folly and hardness of heart, is before them. Into Elihu's argument from God's dealing with the wicked and the suffering righteous, they bring the thought of the fortune of royal evil-doers. It is not altogether out of harmony with the general theme but it has no real significance for Job's problem. Says Duhm, "Das (v. 4) wird gleich im Folgenden an einem Beispiel weiter entwickelt, das wirklich 'von weit her' aus hohen Regionen geholt ist und seinem pathetischen Geschmack entspricht; er [Elihu] redet von Königen ebenso oft wie der Dichter Hiobs selten."

If this section be compared with 34:28-33 a remarkable similarity of thought is to be observed. In chap. 34 it is also a question of God's mysterious providence, "when he setteth a godless man as king," and of the repentance such a man should show (v. 31). Duhm suggests also a relation between the two sections. 34:33 again adds an afterthought for Job; 34:33 and 36:16,17 are not unlike in tone.

If the two sections are really later insertions, might we not hit upon an explanation for their addition in their common political reference? It is possible that it may not have been Elihu who was so given to royal illustrations. The single mention of a king elsewhere (34:18) is quite incidental. Might not these two prosaic and inappropriate amplifications of Elihu's theme have been added at a time when hated and evil kings were the chief affliction to be endured by the people of God? At such a time a later reader might have been moved to insert these references to national calamities, since the poem so conspicuously ignored this phase of the problem. Even the reign of a wicked king over the nation is to be accepted as a part of the divine order.

If He be silent who shall condemn?
If He hide His face, who then shall chide Him?
Alike with a man or a nation,
When He setteth a godless man as king, etc.

But let such a king show repentance toward God or await the hapless reward of his folly.

But if not, they pass unto Sheol,
And without knowledge, they perish.

A period which might have suggested an interpolation of this kind would be that of Antiochus Epiphanes. The most natural explanation of a reference to an evil king in later Jewish literature is to connect it with this bitterly hated monarch. But the tone of the remarks is perhaps a milder one than that time of fierce hatred and despair would have produced. The Book of Daniel shows how the stress of that period found definite literary expression.

Another somewhat less hated ruler of the Jews who might suggest himself is Ptolemy Philopator—Ptolemy IV. He reversed the kindly policy which his predecessors had adopted toward the Jews and incurred their hatred, according to the Third Book of Maccabees, by attempting to force his way into the temple. Whatever may be thought of the historical worth of this narrative, it at any rate bears witness to a very strong prejudice among the Jews against this degenerate descendant of the Ptolemies. His persecution of the Jews of Alexandria is a matter of history. The character of these interpolations might indicate an allusion to his reign (222–205 B.C.); he is probably alluded to in Ecclesiastes 4:13 in a manner which would support such a hypothesis: "Better is a youth poor and wise than a king old and foolish, who no longer knows how to be admonished."¹

The political reference is, however, too general to be referred with certainty to a special period of late Jewish history. More than one reign would have justified the attitude of the writer regarding the affliction of an evil king and might have suggested such additions to a book which professed to consider the problem of evil and the divine government of the universe.

The evidence of the LXX, the special and peculiar character of the two sections, in thought and to some extent in form, make it probable that they are later interpolations; the improvement in the text, resulting from their omission, strengthens this probability. Though the evidence is not so unmistakable as in 36:26–37:14, the hypothesis of interpolation furnishes a more satisfactory explana-

¹ Cf. Barton, *Ecclesiastes* (1908), p. 61.

tion of these passages than that of arbitrary omission. Moreover, the confirmation of the LXX testimony in regard to one of the so-called omissions must necessarily strengthen confidence in its witness to similar large omissions. Finally, if these verses (34:28-33; 36:7b-9, 10b-13, 16, 17) were interpolated, the suggestion of their political bearing would offer a reasonable motive for their insertion.

Though they do not properly fall within the scope of this discussion it seems best to consider briefly the larger omissions which the Greek text shows in the remainder of the poem. Of connected omissions, including five or more verses, which are comparable with those discussed above there are three: 21:28-33; 26:5-11; 28:14-19.

28:14-19.—The praise of Wisdom in chap. 28 is quite generally conceded to be a later addition to the poem. Nevertheless vv. 14-19 (omitted by Codd. Alex. Vat. Colb. Marm. and the Syr. Hex. and Sahidic) stamp themselves as a secondary insertion. Budde, who regards the chapter as genuine, omits vv. 15-20 as a gloss; Dillmann agrees that here the LXX omission coincides with a real interpolation in the text. Vv. 15-19 interrupt the thought of the unattainableness of Wisdom with the conventional praise of her value (cf. Prov. 3:14, 15; 8:10, 11, 19). The section is almost certainly a bit of later expansion.

The likeness between v. 12 and v. 20 seems to Budde and Dillmann indicative of a duplication of v. 12 to restore the connection before v. 21. They therefore conclude that the LXX translator read the present text and has not maintained the limits of the insertion in its omission. It does not, however, appear improbable that v. 20 may have stood in the original text after v. 13 to emphasize the question. Dillmann explains the LXX omission as due to distaste for the enumeration of these strange valuables or to the presence of signs in the Hebrew exemplar which indicated that the section had been added. The latter hypothesis may furnish the easiest explanation of the omission, but if the possibility of such indications of addition is admitted here, it could not be excluded elsewhere, if internal evidence were in favor of it.

26:5-11.—The problem in 26:5-11 is more complicated. Reuss, Siegfried, Bickell, Duhm, and others believe that the section 26:5-11

is misplaced; Grill and Laue regard the verses as part of an interpolation at this point. It is safe to say that the majority of recent critics believe there has been radical readjustment of the text in the chapters following chap. 24. If 26:5-11 are omitted the connection between 26:4 and 26-12 is not good, as Dillmann has remarked. But if the verses after 26:4 should be connected with 25:1-6, as seems most probable, the Hebrew exemplar employed by the translator may have indicated such disorder of the text or possibly omitted the verses at this point. Without entering upon a very complicated process of rearrangement, it may be affirmed that the LXX omission at this point was probably motivated by the disorder and confusion of its exemplar.

21:28-33.—The omission of 21:28-33 is more difficult of explanation. The connection would be excellent between v. 27 and v. 34, and the verses omitted are not essential to the thought. On the other hand, they are in general harmony with the thought of the chapter and have neither the style nor the character which would suggest an interpolation. It may be in this case that the usual explanation will suffice and that the LXX translator, perhaps because of the boldness of the chapter, chose to omit a part of it.

The omissions in chap. 26 and chap. 28 support a belief that the LXX testimony is to be valued as evidence for an earlier form of the Hebrew text. That a larger proportion of such late interpolations is found in the Elihu Speeches than in the remainder of the poem is not strange. Elihu appeared to later Jewish readers the hero of the poem; he answered Job when the friends had failed. His more commonplace theory appealed to the mind of the ordinary reader and afforded a point of contact for additions, while the poorer style and looser construction of the chapters made it easier to supplement them.

More than one explanation for the testimony of the LXX to these insertions is possible.

1. There is the possibility which Dillmann has suggested that the LXX translator used an exemplar with indications of addition or disorder. This hypothesis is plausible in the case of 28:14-19 and 26:5-11. It is less satisfactory as an explanation for the inserted Psalm of the Rainstorm or the omission in 36:7b-17, where the interweaving of the texts is more complicated.

2. The insertions might have been made in certain Hebrew exemplars before the time of the LXX translation but not have been contained in the copy used by the LXX translator. When Theodotion made his translation they had found their way into all of the Hebrew texts.

3. The third possibility is that the additions were made to the Hebrew text after the time of the first LXX translation.

The probability of the last hypothesis would be largely affected by the dating of the LXX translation of Job. This question is an important one and has received considerable attention from scholars. The present discussion can do no more than suggest a possible date and some arguments to support it.

Graetz¹ endeavored to prove that the Greek translation of Job belonged to the first century A.D. and was no other than the translation condemned by Rabbi Gamaliel I (cf. Bab. Talmud Sab. 115a). This translation has usually been regarded by scholars as a Targum to Job and it is far more probable that such was the nature of the translation, since Targumim on the Hagiographa were forbidden.² The passage in the Babylonian Talmud reads plainly ספר איוב חריגים a phrase which would hardly be used of a Greek translation. Though the present Targum can hardly be the one referred to—Bacher dates it about 476—the numerous duplicate translations found in it may possibly suggest that another had already been in existence. Bacher surmises that the forbidden Targum on Job may have come from the hand of Jonathan ben Uzziel, who was supposed to have composed that on the prophets.

Nöldeke,³ in a review of Bickell's early work on the LXX translation of Job, fixes the *terminus ad quem* for the work at 150 B.C. He bases his conclusion on the witness of the fragment of Aristæus *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων* found in Eusebius. The outline of Job's history is there related, substantially as in the biblical narrative. Job is, however, identified with Jobab (Gen. 36:33) and thus made a descendant of Esau. The titles of the friends also appear as they do in the LXX supplement (42:17) though Elihu is here named with them.

¹ *Monatsschrift G.W.J.* (1877), p. 83.

² Cf. Bacher, art. "Targum" in *Jew. Enc.*

³ *Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen* (1865), p. 579.

This supplement is almost certainly a later addition to the original LXX translation, and Freudenthal¹ believes the material for it was derived from Aristeas' history. It is at any rate clear that Aristeas knew the Greek translation of the poem proper. Nöldeke, in the belief that Aristeas also drew from the later supplement to the LXX, maintained that the translation of the book into Greek must have taken place before 150 B.C. If Freudenthal's opposite view is accepted, the evidence would only prove that the Greek translation of Job was in existence some time before 100 B.C.

The earlier date, favored by Nöldeke, has much in its favor. The translation of the Pentateuch and the Prophets had been accomplished before 150 B.C. Though the Hagiographa were held in less esteem and would be translated later, the statement in the Prologue of the younger Sira certainly implies that he knew a Greek form of some of the Hagiographa. The date of this prologue can be assigned with some certainty to the year 132 B.C., and if Job was among the books referred to, a date considerably earlier than this time would be established for the Greek translation of the poem.

The later books of the Greek Psalter are by Swete² assigned to the second half of the second century. The Greek Esther was already in circulation before the end of the second century. Eupolemus, who probably wrote about the middle of the second century, makes use of the Greek Chronicles. All of these books must have been written much later than Job, and it seems justifiable to infer that a translation of the poem would have preceded them, since the book very probably found more appreciation among Hellenists than among the Hebrews themselves.

The date of the Greek translation of Job cannot be positively fixed, but a strong probability that it belongs to a time before 150 B.C. is established. If the additions in 34:28-33 and 36:7-17 refer to conditions at the time of Ptolemy Philopator they could hardly have been composed after the time of the first LXX translation. But it is entirely possible that they had not before this time found their way into the exemplar employed by the LXX translator. If, as is possible, they refer to somewhat later periods of political stress,

¹ Alex. Polyhister, pp. 136-43, 231. Cf. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (3d ed.), III, 356.

² *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 24, 25.

their composition may have been subsequent to the original Greek translation of the poem. The Psalm of the Rainstorm had probably been in existence as an independent psalm some time before its combination with the Elihu Speeches, which may have occurred after the LXX translation.

For the omissions in 21:28-33; 26:5-11; 28:14-19 other explanations may be necessary, though 28:14-19 might easily be a late insertion; the verses contain nothing which a late glossator might not have written. The general opinion of the writer concerning the other two sections has already been stated, and they lie outside the limits of this discussion. To suggest the possibility of various explanations for these larger omissions of the LXX text may seem too complicated a solution. Really less credible, however, would be a theory which insisted that all of them, of whatever style or character, must have emanated from one redactor. Although it might seem simplest to explain these passages as arbitrary omissions of the LXX translator, the complicated nature of the evidence in several cases is very difficult to reconcile with such an explanation.

THE DATE OF THE ELIHU SPEECHES

The recognized inferiority of the Elihu Speeches and their peculiarities of language have usually led to the conclusion that they belonged to a far later period than the poem. Many scholars, as Stuhlmann, Hitzig, Bleek, who have believed the poem pre-exilic, have assigned to Elihu a post-exilic date. Others, among them Ewald, Dillmann, Duhm, place a century or two between the two compositions. The question is usually left somewhat indefinite with the statement that the Elihu Speeches form a later addition. Duhm dates Job in the first half of the fifth century and Elihu a few hundred years later. He mentions as reasons for postulating a long interval of time between the two compositions, the more developed conceptions of the physical universe in Elihu, a later form of angelology, and a probable reference to the Chronicler's tales of Manasseh and those of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel.

The first of these arguments rests on somewhat insufficient evidence. The description of natural wonders in chaps. 36, 37 is far less vivid, less figurative—in a word less poetic than the Yahweh

Speeches, but that it shows any real change of attitude, any development of scientific knowledge, is difficult to discern. Chief stress is laid on 36:27, 28 in which the author supposedly states that the water is drawn up from the earth and distilled as rain. Even in its present form the text must be a little strained to give this meaning, and neither the LXX nor the Syriac supports the rendering. What should be read in vv. 27, 28 is as follows (cf. LXX and notes on the text):

- 27a He restraineth the drops of the water,
- 28b Makes his cloud to o'ershadow many men.
- 27b He poureth out the rain as His mist,
- 28a Which the skies drop down from above.

As a previous section of this discussion has attempted to prove, these verses are composite; the text is slightly corrupt and the entire Psalm of the Rainstorm must be recognized as an insertion. In the verses which are Elihu's, God's immediate activity in Nature and the mystery of his works seems recognized as in the Yahweh Speeches, though expressed in tamer language.

The significance of the angelology of Elihu can at least be over-emphasized. The phrase "the death bringers" in 33:22 is almost certainly a misreading, as shown by the versions (cf. note on 33:22). With Eichhorn among older critics, Volck, Knabenbauer, and Genung of the later, we believe that in the much-quoted passage 33:23 Elihu is referring to himself as the "interpreter." But even though מַלְאָכַי "angel" be retained, it is hardly justifiable to assume a much later date than that of the original poem on this evidence. Eliphaz in 5:1 has mentioned the "holy ones" upon whom Job might call. No great lapse of time is needed to account for the similar conception in 33:23, if indeed a supernatural agent be suggested by the passage.

A reference to the stories of Manasseh (II Chron. 33:10 f.) and Nebuchadnezzar, which Duhm finds in 36:7 f., is at best very uncertain, and these verses are among those which the LXX did not read. For their allusions to royal personages another explanation, already suggested, seems at least equally probable. These arguments, then, are insufficient to establish a long period of time between Job and its "first theological criticism." Other criteria of greater significance are those of the language and the religious attitude.

The relation of Elihu's teaching to that of the friends has already been discussed. Though the conception was not strange to the poet, it may, perhaps, have found a more sympathetic response in a later time and been further developed in the Elihu Speeches. Yet another writer, very soon after the writing of the poem, might have seized upon this special aspect of the problem which he felt was essential, and added it. The thought in itself need not indicate a much later development.

A very marked piety and excessive reverence, which characterize Elihu, would be not less explainable in a writer of the period after the P document than in one of a considerably later stage of Judaism. If Job is dated after Ezra, an attitude like that of Job's author and one like that of Elihu's are both perfectly possible. The two currents of thought—the bold, questioning tone of Job and a very devout, conventional piety—must have flourished side by side in the century after Ezra. Not all the Wise Men of Israel were so untrammelled and so daring as the poet of Job.

The witness of the language is more difficult to estimate. The larger proportion of Aramaisms in these chapters and the use of some few forms found only here have been discussed in a previous section of the introduction. These differences and the general usage of the writer stamp him as another than the original poet, but Budde's investigations show that the character of the diction is not radically different. The difference, in other words, cannot be sufficient to establish a long interval between the two. Certain stock phrases of the Wisdom vocabulary more common in Proverbs than in Job appear more frequently in these chapters, e.g., **יִסֵּר (רַע) דָּעַת**, **הַכֶּם**. This might be indicative of a somewhat later date or only of the use of a more commonplace, stereotyped vocabulary. Wisdom represents with Elihu essentially what it represents in the poem. It is definitely a possession of the Wise Man and is not regarded as an independent and personified attribute. There is no trace of Greek influence in Elihu's thinking such as appears in Ben Sira.

The speeches in spite of their peculiar diction show no such admixture of New-Hebrew forms, Aramaic constructions, and foreign words as do Ecclesiastes and Ben Sira. There is perhaps a slight tendency to employ unusual Hiphils, which is very marked in Ben

Sira. In general, however, the diction of these chapters stands in far closer relationship to that of Job than to the late decadent Hebrew of Ecclesiastes and Ben Sira. It is interesting to note that Elihu's favorite phrase, *נִיָּסָר* "chastisement," has come to mean in Sira "politeness," *Lebensart*.

The characteristics of Elihu, then, in language and type of thought, do not necessitate a date far removed from that of the poem. Kuenen has declared that the difference in age between the poem and its chief insertion is not sufficient to be determined. He believes the author of Elihu, though an inferior poet, may even have been a contemporary of the original author.

It must be admitted that the most natural supposition is that this supplement was added to the poem while it was still comparatively unknown. The book would hardly have circulated long in religious circles without some such addition. While the reaction against its daring was still strong and before its position through age and long use had become more assured, would be the most probable time for the addition of such a corrective supplement. Later interpolators would be more likely to attempt to soften Job's words, to bring him to repentance—in short to make more understandable his final justification by Yahweh. This is essentially the opinion of Hoffmann and Laue, who affirm that the general working over of the poem from chap. 24, which allowed Job to find the solution for himself, was not in the book when the Elihu sections were added. There was, therefore, more reason for such a corrective addition than the poem in its present form offers. Chap. 28 put into the mouth of Job renders the Elihu speeches quite superfluous.

But some time for this process must be allowed. The LXX translators had the text of the poem with these chief insertions before them. Ben Sira almost certainly knew the poem with the Elihu Speeches and chap. 28. He undoubtedly employs chap. 28 (cf. Sira 1) and in 18:13, 14 we believe there is an allusion to Elihu's redemptive theory, developed in 33:17-26. No tradition of the book has come down to us without the Elihu Speeches.

No distinction has been made, up to this point, between the two authors of the speeches. They cannot have been separated by a long period, though representing two different points of view regarding

the earlier book. One critic had a special and comparatively fresh theory to propound, the other harked back to the retribution teaching of the friends. The opinion has been already expressed that the first is the earlier and that chap. 34 may have been written at a slightly later date. But it would be futile to attempt closer distinctions.

The most probable hypothesis, then, is that the Elihu Speeches represent a combination of a criticism and a supplement of the Job poem written by two Wise Men of the first or, at latest, the second generation after the daring poet. To their well-meant efforts we no doubt owe the preservation of the poem.

Something should be said of the character who has given a name to the sections. His name, unlike those of the friends, is symbolic; Elihu, the son of Barachel, is a true Hebrew name—Elihu meaning "My God it is" and Barachel "God blesses" or "Bless God." The former name is found once in I Sam. 1, among the ancestors of Samuel, and three times in Chronicles (I Chron. 12:20; 26:7; 27:18), which probably indicates a preference for the name in post-exilic times. Barachel occurs nowhere else, though very like the frequent ברכיהו. The theory that the author chose this opportunity to immortalize his own name is very doubtful in view of the character of the names and Hebrew literary traditions. Budde is probably right in suggesting that the names are chosen with reference to the character of the speeches.

The tribal designation "the Buzite" suggests the mention of Buz (Gen. 22:21), the son of Nahor and brother of Uz. This connection with the name of Job's supposed ancestor probably explains the choice of the title. In vv. 2-5 of the prose introduction, added by the combiner, one more designation is found—"of the tribe of Ram." The suggestion has already been offered that this might represent a fragment of the original title of the second Wise Man. Ram is found elsewhere in a genealogical table (I Chron. 2:9, 25, 27) as the name of a brother or son of Jerachmeel, an ancestor of David.

Hoffmann observes that the phrase בוז משפחות "contempt of families" occurs in 31:34 and believes that it suggested a play on the phrase employing רם "exalted." The Buzite with this inter-

pretation would signify "the despised." Budde is inclined to accept the explanation but it appears somewhat fanciful. The Syriac translators render "of the tribe of Remmon," and the Targum reads, "from the family of Abraham." In the LXX we find added "from the land of Ausitis."

We may probably conclude that the introduction gives us nothing of significance beyond a suggestion of the purpose of Elihu's author.

TEXT OF THE ELIHU SPEECHES

CHAP. 32

Vv. 2-5. *Prose Introduction of the Editor*

2. Then the anger of Elihu, son of Barachel, the Buzite, of the tribe of Ram, was kindled; against Job his wrath was kindled, because he justified himself rather than God.

3. And against his three friends was his wrath kindled, because they had not found an answer and condemned Job.

4. But Elihu waited while they were speaking with Job, for they were older than he.

5. And Elihu saw that there was no answer in the mouth of these three men and his anger was kindled.

2. Vv. 2-5 form an awkward summary of Elihu's introduction in vv. 1, 6-10, 18-22 and of the introduction to chap. 34 found in chap. 32, vv. 11-16. Hoff. Budde omit vv. 2-5 as redactional. **רם ממשפחת רם** Syr. "of Remmen," Tar. "of Abraham." Sym. *Suptas*.

3. MT **וירשעו** LXX MS 23 **א**. A* Syr. Hex. (marg.) rd. probably **וירדיקו**, MT **אחאיוב**. In Jewish tradition this is one of 18 Tiqqun Sopherim for **האלהים** (so MS Ken. 683). But Hit. notes that Ibn Ezra did not share Jewish opinion.

4. MT **הכה את איוב בקברים** gives an impossible construction. LXX Vet. Lat "to give answer," Sym. Syr. **הקה**, Hit. **רעי** before **איוב**, Duhm **להשיב** before **את**. Trasp. probably and rd. with Wr. Budde **את איוב בקרבם**. LXX Sah. om. vv. 4b-5 as superfluous.

THE ORIGINAL ELIHU SPEECHES

CHAP. 32

1. Now these three men ceased to answer Job, because he was righteous in their eyes.

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1. MT **שלושת האנשים**; LXX **שלושת רעיו**; MT Tar. Vul. **בעיניו**. Rd. probably with MS Ken. 248, LXX Sym. Syr. Hex. (marg.) **בעיניהם**. The verse was probably altered to accord with vv. 2-5. Note that the prose has poetical accentuation here.

2. Vv. 2-5 are omitted here as work of compiler. Hoff. and Budde omit.

6. And Elihu, son of Barachel, the Buzite, answered and said:

Few yet of days am I,
And ye now are elders;
Wherefore I shrank and was fearful
To shew unto you my knowledge.

7. For I said, It is days that should speak,
And abundance of years show forth wisdom.
8. Yet the spirit of God is in man,
And the breath of the Lord giveth knowledge.
9. The many of days know not wisdom,
The elders discern not judgment.
10. Wherefore I said, Hark to me;
I will show you, yea I, of my knowledge.
18. For I with words am o'erfilled;
The spirit within me constrains me.
19. Like to wine without vent is my bosom,
Like to flasks of new wine is it bursting.

6. Prevailing meter is resumed. Line *b* of second couplet lacks an accent. Bi. before **שְׁבִים** adds **יְשִׁישִׁים**; Ley before it **וְזָקְנִים** or before **צַעִיר** an **אִמְרָתִי**, Duhm **קָלַכְם** which has fallen out before **עַל כֵּן**, MT **וְזָחַלְתִּי** "fear" here only. (Cf. Aram. **דָּחַל**.) Probably from Ar. **זָחַל** "shrink." (Cf. B. D. B.) **הוּא** Aram. = **הַיָּגִיד** 32:10, 17, with **דָּע** 15:17; 36:2; Ps. 19:3 only. **דָּע** Elihu only, 32:10, 17; 36:3; Plu. 37:16 = **דָּעָה**. MT **אֶתְקַם**. Budde, Beer suggest **אֶתְקַם**.

7. Cf. 12:12; MT **יִדְעוּ**; Bi. **יִדְעֵה**. Note plural vb. with **רַב** in 15:20.

8. MT **רָחַם**. Rd. for parallelism with Sym. **אֵל**. So Bi. Budde. Cf. use 27:3; 33:4; 34:14; Isa. 42:5. Perhaps it was changed because of later dislike of the suggestion. Duhm **רָחַם הָאֵלִים**; cf. Ps. 119:130. **אֵכֵן** here only in Job.

9. MT **רַבִּים** "the great." Rd. with LXX Sah. Vet. Lat. Syr. Vul. **רַב יָמִים**,—so Duhm, Beer. MT is probably a scribal error. The change improves parallelism and meter. Budde **שְׁבִים** (cf. 15:10). Bi. inserts **כִּי** before v. 9.

10. MT **שָׁמַעַה**; 2 MSS LXX, Syr. Vul. **שָׁמַעַה**. So Hit. V. 10*b* = v. 17*b*; v. 10*a* is similar to v. 17*a*. Duhm, Beer rd. vv. 15–17 after v. 9 omit v. 10 as var. of v. 17. Duhm retains **לִכְן** for v. 15. Budde reads vv. 13, 14 before v. 10, omits vv. 11, 12, 15, 17. Bi. omits vv. 12, 15, 16, 17. Hatch omits vv. 11–17. The LXX omitted vv. 11*c*, 12, 15, 16. Vv. 11 16 are read in this text as an introduction before chap. 34. V. 17 is a duplicate of v. 10.

18. MT **כִּי**; Duhm **אֲנִי**. Beer suggests **אֲנִכִּי**, 18*a* is over short. Kethib **קִלְחִי** Qere, 20 MSS **קִלְחִי**. **בֶּטֶן**, lit. "belly" (B. D. B.), Eng. "bosom." Cf. 15:2, 35. **רוּחַ** "spirit," used as in v. 8, not "breath." Bi. inserts before v. 18, with LXX of v. 17, **עַד אֶעֱנֶה**; begins line *b* with **מִלִּים**.

19. MT **הִנֵּה** before v. 19. Perhaps om. with LXX Vet. Lat. for sake of meter. Bi. Beer rd. **הֵן**. MT **אֲבִירָה**. The word is used only here in this sense, elsewhere "necromancer" Mt **יִבְקַע**. Rd. probably with Duhm, Beer, **חֲבַקַּע**,—scribal error influenced by preceding verb.

20. I will speak then that I may find ease;
I will open my lips and will answer.
21. Let me not 'fore a mortal pay reverence;
Unto men let me not give fair titles.
22. For I know not how I should speak thus,
Right soon would my Maker destroy me.

CHAP. 33

1. But hearken now, Job, to my speech,
Unto all of my words give thou ear.
2. For lo, I have opened my lips;
My tongue in my mouth giveth utterance.
3. Upright as my heart are my words,
The knowledge of my lips speak they purely.
4. 'Tis the spirit of God which hath made me;
The breath of the Lord hath life given.
5. If thou canst, give me answer in this;
Set thy cause now before me, stand forth.
6. See I, before God, am as thou;
From clay was I fashioned, I also.

20. ויררה, lit. "be wide," I Sam. 16:23; Jer. 22:14, "find air," "be refreshed"; rare in impersonal use.

21. MT ראה פנים, lit. "respect the person of." אכנה "betittle," elsewhere only Isa. 44:5; 45:4; cf. with v. 21 chap. 13:8, 10, 11.

22. MT אכנה as in v. 21. Vul. reads perhaps אָכֹן "abide," "be firm." כמעט "soon"; cf. Ps. 81:14. עשני "my Maker." Cf. 4:17; 35:10.

33:1. Job is here for the first time addressed by name. אולם is characteristic of Job 2:5; 5:8; 13:3; 12:7; 14:18; 17:10, etc.

2. פי and חכרי, lit. "mouth" and "palate." Cf. for usage 6:30; 29:10; 31:30. Bi. omits v. 2, Budde reads it as *Vordersatz* to v. 3.

3. V. 3a. lit. "The uprightness of my heart are my words." Cf. Prov. 8:6-8. Rd. as Budde suggests, שפתי as subject of מלל and Gen. after דעת. MT ישר, Beer רחש (Ps. 45:2), Duhm יִשֶׁק (Joel 2:24), "Mein Herz strömt über von Worten der Erkenntnis." MT אמרי דעת, Wr. אָמַר, Duhm, Beer אָמַר דעת, Syr. om. דעת. MT ברור is pass. pt. used adverbially. Cf. Zeph. 3:9. The vb. מלל is found in 8:2 and elsewhere only twice in the O.T., an Aramaism.

4. Om. v. 4 as var. of 32:8; 33:6; so Budde, Duhm, Beer. LXX, v. 4b = 32:8b. The verse is certainly misplaced; if genuine rd. after v. 6. Bi. adds אני after עשתני; Syr. rd. עוררתני.

5. Rd. with LXX, Vet. Lat. after v. 5a לזאת. This improves sentence structure and meter. Syr. rd. apparently דָּבַר; Ley with Syr. or על-זאת, Duhm אָהָה. Duhm adds מלין after ערכה. החיצבה, this vb. is used only in Hithpael. For use here cf. I Sam. 17:16. Cf. v. with 13:18; 23:4.

6. For vv. 6, 7 cf. 9:34; 13:20, 21; 23:6. MT קָאֵל, Sym. אֵל. Beer

7. My fear, it shall not dismay thee,
My hand be not heavy upon thee.
8. Howbeit, thou hast said in mine ears,
Yea the voice of thy words I have heard:
9. "Pure am I, free from offense;
Clean, and in me is no sin.
10. Lo, He findeth occasions against me
For His foe hath He me accounted;
11. He setteth my feet as in stocks,
And all of my goings He watcheth."
12. I answer, in this thou art not just;
For God is mightier far than mortals.
13. Wherefore then striv'st thou with him?
Unto all thy words shall he not answer.
14. For once speaketh God with a man,
And yet twice he turneth not from him.

suggests the reading of Sym. קרצחי, lit. "nip off." The vb. is used only in Ps. 35:19; Prov. 6:13; 10:10; 16:30. חמר "clay" is mentioned as the material from which man was made, Job 4:19; 10:9.

7. MT אנכפי "pressure," here only. Rd. rather with LXX נכפי. So Ols. Hit. Wr. Hoff. Sieg. Budde, Duhm, Beer. Cf. 9:33b; 13:21b. Rd. probably also as Budde, Duhm, Beer to agree with כפי, תכבד. Bi. omits לא in line b for the sake of meter.

8. LXX omits v. 8a as unnecessary; it is supplied from Theo. MT מלין. Rd. with LXX אא, Syr. Tar. Vul. מליה, which is better in the context. So Bi. Budde, Duhm, Beer.

9. MT חה. Many MSS have small ח which by tradition implies that Elihu did not consider Job "clean." The word is an Aramaism, found only here. MT אנכי, Bi. אני, in 9b.

10. MT הן, Beer ויהא, MT תניאות, "oppositions," is used only in Num. 14:34. Rd. with Baeth., Wr. Budde, Duhm, Beer, תואנות (Sing. Jd. 14:4, and denominative of התאנה, II Kings 5:7). This gives meaning required by context. Cf. 10:13-17; 13:24b-27; 19:11.

11. Line a=13:27a. Bi. Duhm, Beer om. v. 11 as var. of 13:27. Om rather 13:27b as supplied from v. 11. סד, only here and 13:27, is probably loan word from Aram. סדא.

12. It is possible and very attractive to read v. 12a with LXX and Vet. Lat. זאת צדקתי ולא אענה "Lo, righteous I am, but he answereth me not." Cf. 9:2f., 32. Beer: הן: תאמר צדקתי ולא אענה; Bi. ואת רגני צדקתי ולא אענה (cf. 19:7; 30:20); Duhm: הנה אם אעק לא ענה; MT ירבה; Duhm (after LXX?), מעלים; (Hiph. Pt. of עלם, as Ps. 10:1), "Es verbirgt sich Eloah vor den Menschen." רבה in this comparative sense is without parallel. (Cf. B. D. B.)

13. MT דבריי. Rd. with Vul. דבריה. So Dill. Hit. Sieg. Budde; this sense is required by context. Bi. Beer, Duhm, דברי; Bi. Duhm rd. כי as an introduction to direct discourse.

14. MT ישירנה, which is not supported by any version. Rd. probably

15. In a dream, in the visions of night,
On his couch, when he lieth in slumber.
16. Then openeth He the ear of man.
With fearful forms He frighteth him.
17. To turn a man from his way,
To cause him to cease from his pride.
18. His soul He draws back from destruction,
His life, that it pass not to Sheol.
19. He is chastened with pain on his couch,
Ceaseless through all of his members;

with Sym. יסיר or יסירָה (cf. LXX translation in Prov. 5:7), which gives meaning required. God does speak more than once. Bi. יְשִׁירָה; Sieg. יְשִׁירָה; Beer with Syr. Vul. (*repetit*), יְשִׁירָה, or with Duhm יְשִׁירָה; LXX omits the verse after לֹא as superfluous. For form of expression cf. 5:19.

15. Line *b* = 4:13b, "When sleep falleth upon men." But the verse here is overloaded; probably om. *b* as an insertion from 4:13. So Bi. Budde, Beer, Duhm. LXX 261 omits. Rd. ב before הַזִּיחַ with 6 MSS LXX, Syr. Vul. So Beer. בְּחַלְמוֹת, lit. "in slumbers," is a late Wisdom word found Prov. 6:4; 6:10: 24 33; and Ps. 132:4 only.

16. V. 16a employs a form of expression used here and in 36:10, 15 to suggest the Divine revelation (cf. I Sam. 9:15). MT, יְבַמְסֶרֶם; Hoff. Budde, יְבַמְסֶרֶם; Duhm, Beer rd. with LXX Vet. Lat. יְבַמְסֶרֶם (= מוראים Deut. 4:34), "terrors," LXX, ἐν ἐλπίσιν φόβου τοῦτοῦ. Rd. therefore better with LXX מוֹרִים; בְּמִרְאָה מוֹרִים; this gives necessary length to the line and a better reading. The similarity of the two successive words caused confusion possibly and מִסֶּרֶם was an easy conjecture. MT, יְחַתֵּם, point with LXX A. Vet. Lat. Syr. יְחַתֵּם. So Bi. Wr. Hoff. Budde, Duhm, Beer; יְחַתֵּם is not in place in the passage. Cf. 7:14–16.

17. MT מַעֲשֶׂה. Rd. rather with Syr. (Vul.?) מַעֲשֶׂה as Ols. Dill. Sieg. Budde. מַעֲשֶׂה Hir. Del. Hit. מַעֲשֶׂה rd. by Bi. Duhm with LXX, Beer מַעֲשֶׂה or מַעֲשֶׂה. MT גִּיה "pride," Aram. Job 22:29; Jer. 3:17; LXX Vet. Lat. rd. מַעֲשֶׂה יְבַמְסֶרֶם. So Beer with יְבַמְסֶרֶם. Syr. also גִּיה. MT יְבַמְסֶרֶם "he covers" is not appropriate in context. Rd. with Dill. Budde, Duhm, יְבַמְסֶרֶם Bi. יְבַמְסֶרֶם (Isa. 33:12; Ps. 80:17), Sieg. יְבַמְסֶרֶם. Bi. also transposes לַחֲסִיר before יְחַתֵּם in v. 18.

18. חיה, usual meaning "animal," Elihu 33:18, 20, 22, 28; 36:14; "life," also Ps. 74:19; 78:50, etc. Elsewhere in Job חיים is used. MT, בשלח, "by the sword," does not give a probable meaning here. Cf. v. 28. Rd. probably with Duhm (Syr. מַעֲשֶׂה אֲבִירָה, better parallel with 18a).

19. MT יְחַתֵּם. The Perf. is not good here. Rd. probably יְחַתֵּם, LXX Syr. יְחַתֵּם, Beer יְחַתֵּם, Duhm יְחַתֵּם, Budde יְחַתֵּם, "pain," in Elihu Speeches; elsewhere in Job יְחַתֵּם is used. MT משכבו Beer omits suff. with LXX, Vul. MT, יְחַתֵּם, Occ. Kethib. Rd. יְחַתֵּם with Occ. Qere, Or. Theo. Sym. Targ. Vul. cf. 4:14. Dill. Duhm, rd. Qere; Budde, Hoff. Kethib; Sieg. יְחַתֵּם; Beer יְחַתֵּם (cf. Hb. 3:16; Prov. 12:4). Possibly rd. יְחַתֵּם. ב might easily have been dropped before the two similar letters. This would

20. Loathsome is meat to his soul,
And the food of desire to his spirit;
21. His flesh is wasted away;
His bones are laid bare to men's sight;
22. His soul draweth near to destruction,
And his life cometh nigh unto death.
23. If there be an interpreter for him,
One from among a thousand,
To make known unto man his chastening,—

make possible a more natural translation of אָהֶן and give intelligible reading. MT אָהֶן is contracted from אֶהֱיָן "unceasing," "continuous," Duhm אָהֶן. LXX omits 19b, perhaps because of unusual words. Bi. omits.

20. MT רָהֶמְתוּ, an impossible form of the word, is used only here. Rd. probably רָהֶמְתָּ. So Duhm, Beer. Budde רָהֶמְתָּ. In cognate languages the stem means "be foul," "loathsome" (Ar. Aram.). Sieg. omits the word as corrupt. Voigt considers v. 20 a gloss on v. 22. LXX omits v. 20b, probably as superfluous. For thought of v. 20 cf. Ps. 107:18.

21. MT מֵרָאִי "from sight," a pausal form from רָאִי. The form is unusual and the sentence very awkward. Duhm, Beer מֵרָאִי (Isa. 10:16; Ps. 108:15 only), "leanness." It is possible to read with Syr. מֵרִיָּא "from fear." MT Kethiv יִשְׁפִּי "bareness." Qere וְשִׁפִּי. Rd. Qere, since a vb. is needed here; so Sieg. Duhm, Beer. Wr. וְשִׁפִּי "seek," with the thought that "his limbs seek not to be seen." MT לֹא רָאִי. The phrase is very awkward in construction, and does not give the meaning required here. Rd. rather לְמִרְאָה "to sight" (cf. LXX καὶ ἀποβλέψας τὰ ὄσθια αὐτοῦ κενά). Bi. Duhm strike as gloss after מֵרָאִי, Budde with ל of v. 22 reads לֹא נִחַר (Ct. 1 10; Ps. 93:5), "which are not comely." The verse is in any case very prosaic, but the wasting effect of disease is clearly indicated with or without text emendation.

22. MT לְמַמְתִּים "to the death bringers." Rd. with LXX Vet. Lat. Syr. Tar. לְמַמְתִּים, or better מַמְתִּים, Hoff. Perles, Budde. לְמַמְתִּים. MT supposedly refers to death angels, but is supported by no parallel passage and it is inappropriate that life should draw near to the death angels. The correction was probably introduced later to accord with the gloss in v. 23.

23. MT reads מַלְאָךְ "angel" before מַלְאָךְ, but for several reasons it appears probable that it represents a later addition to the verse, perhaps under the influence of 4:14, 15. The meter is improved by its omission, nothing else in the passage suggests a supernatural agent, and the interpretation in accord with the entire thought of Elihu is that he is suggesting himself as the Daysman of 9:34, who is to make clear to Job the meaning of his affliction (cf. Introduction). מַלְאָךְ (Gen. 42:23; Isa. 43:27; II Chr. 32:31 only) is in no case used of a supernatural intermediary. Clause b, to refer to מַלְאָךְ, should follow it. The phrase is used as in 9:3 to mean the one among many; Budde, Sieg. omit it as gloss. Budde also מַלְאָךְ. MT לְהַגִּיד, Duhm, Beer with LXX, Syr. לְהַגִּיד. M¹ יִשְׁרֹר is not the proper word here. Rd. with LXX מִיִּסְרִי. So Duhm, Beer. מִיִּסְרִי has fallen out after אֲדָם. Bi. reads

24. He hath pity upon him, and pleadeth,
 "Let alone that he pass not to Sheol;
 The price of his soul—I have found it."
 25. Then his flesh groweth soft like a lad's;
 To the days of his youth he returneth.
 26. He prayeth to God, who hath mercy,
 That his face now with joy he beholdeth,
 Yea, He restoreth unto man his uprightness.
 27. Then he singeth before men, and crieth:
 "I have sinned and perverted the right
 Yet not as my sin was it visited upon me."

לא at the beginning and omits clause c. LXX has a four-line addition after v. 23 which is in reality an amplification and double translation of vv. 23, 24. Genung interprets the passage as referring to Elihu, though he retains מלאך, which he translates "messenger." Posselt (p. 17) quotes Volck and Knabenbaur as interpreting the passage without reference to an angel.

24. Rd. simple Impf. in the verbs of v. 24a, not conversives, as Budde. MT פדעו, Hoff. פדעו, or פדעו "he supplicates." MT פדעו. Rd. with MSS Ken. 206, 454 פדעו (Job 15:4) (cf. Cheyne, J.Q., July, 1897, p. 577). MT form is unknown. Hoff. Budde, Duhm, Beer rd. as above; Dill. Sieg. פדעו or פדעו. MT מרדת שחת, Budde omits as a gloss. Rd. נפשו after כפר, which was probably lost through confusion with following vb. in v. 25. Meter and thought demand it.

25. MT רשע, a quadrilateral stem, is found only here. Altschüler Z.A.T.W. (1886), p. 212, proposed טפש; Bi. Hoff. Budde, Duhm, Beer טפש "be gross or fat," found only Ps. 119:70. Perhaps it is better to rd. with LXX רשע (cf. LXX translation II Kings 22:19; Ps. 54:21). Probably the verb became transposed with נפשו of v. 24 and the present confusion resulted. MT מנער. Rd. rather with LXX Syr. כן. Bi. Beer, Duhm rd. v. as part of address and the Jussive ישוב. ישוב Aram. Plu., abstract, 20:11.

26. וירצהו, lit. "And he is gracious unto him." MT ירצה must be read as Hiph. since God is still the subject; so Dill. Budde. Beer suggests ירצהו, Hit. with Syr. ירצה. Point both verbs as simple imperfects. MT וישב, Duhm, Beer rd. נישב, or נישב, for parallelism with v. 27a. For thought of vv. 26, 27 cf. 8:21; Ps. 22:22, 25; Ps. 27:6; Isa. 38:20.

27. MT ישר "he looketh." Point ישר, Hit. Dill. Budde, Duhm, Beer. This meaning is required by context. Point יראך instead of conversive. Add probably with LXX Vet. Lat. at end of v. 27 קערי for meter and to complete the thought. So Dulm. Beer. Bi. מנעארי. MT שנה is difficult. Budde, Duhm, Sieg. השב. If MT is correct, "it was not equaled to me" is the meaning here. (Cf. B.D.B.) Budde reads ואל שנה. Bi. transposes v. 26c and v. 27a and reads וישב לאנוש צדקו ישר על נפשו יאמר וישב לאנוש צדקו ישר על נפשו יאמר וישב לאנוש צדקו ישר על נפשו יאמר "Sich selbst dann spricht er Tadel, Verkündet dass ihm Heil ward."

28. "He redeemeth my soul from destruction,
And my life now beholdeth the light."
29. Behold all this worketh God,
Twice and yet thrice with a man;
30. To bring back his soul from destruction,
To enlighten with the light of life.
31. Attend now, oh Job, hark to me;
Be silent, and I will yet speak.
32. If thou hast words, give me answer;
33. Else, give thou ear unto me;
Hold thy peace, I will teach thee wisdom.

CHAP. 35

2. Canst thou account this for justice,
Callest it "my righteousness before God"?
3. That thou sayest, "What profiteth it thee?
What availeth it, that I sinned not?"

28. Vv. 28 and 29 are obelized in LXX and supplied from Theo. but the Gk. of v. 30 represents Heb. v. 28. Vv. 29, 30 are the omitted verses. Sah. reads vv. 27, 28, 31a. So Bi. Rd. with Kth. LXX (v. 30). Theo. Syr. נפשי ורוחתי בשלח. Qere Tar. Vul. rd. 3 per. suff. MT בשלח MSS Ken. 158, 270 בשלח. Budde suggests this reading or מרבה for מעבר (cf. 33:24; Ps. 30:10; 55:24).

29. LXX Sah. om. as superfluous. For form of expression cf. 5:19.

30. MT להשיב, Beer with Syr. השיב or משיב. MT לאור (= להאיר), "be light," but difficult here. Rd. as Wr. לאיר, Duhm לאיר בו. Correction is needed to make intelligible. Syr. לראות "to behold."

31. LXX omits v. 31b to end, as unnecessary and out of place before 34:2f. Gk. MSS 23 and Cod. Alex. rd. after v. 28 (Gk. v. 30), 34:1, 2, then כי אמר (Cod. Alex. adds אירב) followed by 33:29, 30. Evidently the omitted vv. were supplied here on the margin and later given their present position. Duhm, Beer(?) trsp. vv. 31-33 after 34:16. Bi. reads line a with one from 34:1 וידע אלזה אקרי, and omits 31b to end. Budde omits v. 33.

32. צדקה is a Piel Inf.

33. ראללפה. The vb. אלל in the Piel meaning "teach" is an Aramaic use, found only Job 15:5; 35:11, and here.

35:1. "And Elihu answered and said." The heading is no more in place here than in 34:1 or 36:1. 35:2 should probably follow directly on 33:33. Bi. Wright om. v. 1.

2. MT צדקי "my righteousness." Perhaps we should read with LXX Syr. Tar. Vul. צדקתי "I am more just than God." So Ols. Beer. The MT gives a better parallel here, however.

3. This verse is omitted by MS B. of the LXX, but MSS א, A. C. 23, and other cursives rd. it. MT לך, Beer, Duhm rd. לי. Cf. 19:28; 22:17 for a similar change of person. MT אעיל, H ff. Sieg. rd. רעיל, as addressed to God. MT מהטאתי is used hypothetically, "more than if I had sinned." Eliphaz is really quoted here. Cf. 15:3; 22:2.

4. I will answer to thee yet a word,
And unto thy friends that are with thee.
5. Look unto the heavens and see,
Behold the skies—how high above thee.
6. If thou sinnest what dost thou against Him?
What to Him if thou multiply sinning?
7. If righteous, what givest thou Him?
Or what shall He have from thy hand?
8. 'Gainst a man like to thee is thy sin,
Thy righteousness but toward a mortal.
9. For that oppressors are many, men cry out;
Groan 'neath the arm of the mighty.
10. Yet say not "Where is God who hath made us,
Who giveth songs in the night time?"
11. 'Fore the beasts of the field doth He teach us,
'Fore the fowls of the air makes wise.

4. LXX but not Vet. Lat. adds שלשת before רעיה. This is the only direct reference by Elihu to the friends after the introduction, and the statement here would be singular after chap. 34. Bi. Budde omit v. 4.

5. Cf. for v. 5, 11:8; 22:12. שחקים is used 36:28; 37:21; 38:37. Cf. also Isa. 45:8.

6. MT בר, but this usage is only found here. Possibly rd. with 2 MSS, Ken. Syr. Vul. לו. MT תפעל, Budde תפעל. Bi. omits תעשה for the sake of meter. Cf. 7:20; 22:3.

7. Vv. 7b-10a are omitted in LXX Codd. Colb. Marm; Syr. Hex. Sah.; Cod. Bodl. omits vv. 8-10a. LXX probably read the text but vv. 7b, 8 were considered superfluous. Bi. Hatch omits the verses, reading v. 7b with v. 10b.

8. בן אדם is found elsewhere in Job only in 25:6.

9. V. 9, as stated above, is omitted by some MSS of the LXX, probably because of its somewhat loose connection with the foregoing and the change of person. Vv. 9 and 12 are a little puzzling here, but Elihu is apparently answering Job's claim that unjust oppression goes on unheeded. Cf. 9:24; 24:12. Duhm omits vv. 9, 12; Beer transposes v. 9 before v. 12. MT עשוקים. Rd. probably with MS Ken. 368 Theo. Syn. Syr. Tar. Vul. עשוקים for the sake of the parallelism. MT ידעיקר; cf. with יצעקר in v. 12—both with the same meaning. MT רבים in the sense of "great" is not good here after רוב "number." Probably read רעים as in v. 12 with Beer. Budde suggests this reading.

10. If the verse is to follow v. 9 we must read plurals with the Syr. אמרו and עשו. So Budde; Sieg. reads the former. MT עשי; cf. עשני 32:22. MT זמרות, Wr. מזרות (cf. 38:32). For the thought cf. Ps. 77 7f., Ps. 149:5.

11. MT מאלקני = מלפני. For the use of the Piel of this stem cf. 33:33; cf. 12:7, 8. It is lack of trust on the part of the oppressed which explains God's apparent silence, Elihu would say.

12. So they cry—and he answereth not—
For the haughtiness of the evil.
13. For surely God will not hear vanity,
The Almighty will not regard it.
14. Yea, for thou sayest, thou beholdest Him not,
Thy cause is before Him, thou waitest for Him,—

CHAP. 36

2. Suffer me a little, that I may show thee,
For I have yet words for God.
3. I will bring my knowledge from afar,
I will show forth the justice of my Maker;

12. LXX Syr. Hex. Sab. om. v. 12a. Codd. Alex. 23, 161 om. also v. 12b. LXX probably had the entire verse, but v. 12a was omitted for the same reason as v. 9. Duhm omits v. 12 with v. 9 as a gloss. Bi. omits, but Hatch mistakenly retains the extra verse as though found in the LXX. MT שם is curiously used here, but certainly cannot have local meaning, "there." The verse is awkwardly constructed; לא יענה should logically follow v. 12b.

13. Bi. Duhm insert שקפה before שרא to agree with fem. ending of ישורנה. Budde inserts שפחה; Ley reads שפחהם after שדי, but it is probably simpler and better to read ישורני, agreeing with שרא; an additional word is not needed in the line.

14. V. 14 should be followed immediately by 36:2. It introduces another appeal of Elihu for God's justice. Vv. 15, 16 which obviously are out of place here, as structure and thought show, are read before 34:34. MT תשורני. It is possible we should read with Tar. Vul. (LXX, καὶ ὥσπερ με). תשורני "He regardeth it not." Bi. with LXX reads תשורני, Voigt תשורני. MT דין "judgment" Perles. Budde, Duhm, Beer rd. דום (Ps. 37:7), "be silent," but the form is very unusual. Bi. reads דין from an Arab. root, "Beug dich." MT תרחולל. The form is apparently a Polel of חול, but it is found only here = "wait." Budde, Beer rd. Hithpolel תרחולל (Ps. 37:7). Bi. reads with LXX ותהלל "so wirst du danken." If a change is to be made rd. תרחול, probably, from יחל "wait" (Job 29:21, 23; 30:26, etc.). Budde suggests this reading also. Budde and Duhm rd. the last clause as a command of Elihu to Job, but the present text does not support such a reading.

36:1. ויאמר אליהו ויסה "And Elihu added and said." The verse is to be omitted like the other headings; it is especially disturbing between 35:14 and 36:2 which are in immediate connection (cf. 27:1, 29:1). It is omitted by Bi. Duhm; Beer transposes it before 35:15.

2. זעיר is used in Aram. sense of "wait," but only here in O.T. "a little" is found elsewhere only Isa. 28:10, 13. MT לא־לִיָּהּ, LXX (ἐν ἐμοί) may have read לא־לִיָּהּ, as Hoff. does. Bi. inserts בי, Duhm לי after ערד. Cf. 13:7, 8.

3. MT רעי. Cf. 32:6. Hoff. reads רעי "Ich ehre den, der mich aus der Ferne behütet." למרחוק is found in this form in Job only 39:29. (Cf. Isa. 37:26.) פעלי is only used here in this form.

4. For surely my words are not false;
One perfect in Knowledge is with thee.
5. Lo, God is mighty in strength;
Rejecteth not the pure of heart.
- 7b. Kings upon thrones He setteth,
And they without end are exalted.
8. But if they be bound with fetters,
Be taken in the toils of affliction,

4. שקר "falsehood" is very common in Prov. חמים דעות, cf. I Sam. 2:3 and a similar phrase in 37:16. The Plu. דעות is found only here and I Sam. 2:3. The other uses refer to God and this may be the reference here, but the context seems against this interpretation. Wright omits עמה as a gloss and reads חמים דעות הן אל כביר.

5. V. 5 as it stands in the MT is very awkward and almost impossible in construction. Bi. reads הנה as הנה with v. 4 and in v. 5 אל לא ימאס בר וקנה. Duhm, Beer om. כביר ולא as a variant of לב כביר, also om. כח as further gloss, rd. לב כביר and join with v. 6a. Ley ולב, Budde suggests יתכם לב (cf. 9:4). Probably rd. כח after כביר in v. 5a. This gives a good half-line and the transposition is easily explained by similarity of form in v. 5b. Then read in v. 5b, בר לב. Cf. LXX, οὐ μὲν ἀποστέλλεται τὸν δακτυλόν, and Syr. which rd. apparently בר כחלב. The change supplies the necessary object for ימאס, gives an appropriate thought and the corruption is easily explained. For use of בר cf. 11:4; Ps. 24:4; 73:1; also ברור in 33:3. LXX omits v. 5b as superfluous. Here begins supposedly the second of the large LXX omissions, but it is evident that the LXX and Sah. read v. 6a before v. 12, v. 6b after v. 15, and v. 7a instead of the Heb. v. 17. The real omission thus begins with v. 7b. The passage reconstructed in the order of the LXX yields a far better connected and more intelligible reading: the verses will therefore be read in this order, allowing the connected insertion to precede. The obelized passages are marked as follows in the various recensions: vv. 5b-9, 10b-11 Cod. Colb. (also v. 5a) Syr. Hex. Sah.; vv. 5b-11 Codd. Vat. (248 H. and P.) Alex. Marm.; vv. 7-11 Cod. Bodl. It is, however, evident from the Sah. that the inserted verses are 7b-9, 10b-11, also vv. 12, 13, 16, 17 of the Heb. text, which will be considered later. These verses read together yield a connected thought on a theme not directly related to Elihu's argument, and their omission leaves the text much clearer. For further discussion see the introduction. Hatch omits vv. 5b-9.

7. The vv. 7b-9, 10b-13 are concerned with the fate of kings. The construction in this verse is very awkward. MT וְאֵלֶּיךָ. Some vb. perhaps stood here originally, but rd. text as the sign of the Acc. (So Syr.) Duhm, Beer rd. אֵלֶּיךָ (cf. Theo. μετά). MT וְיָשִׁיבֶם. Rd. with Ley, Duhm לנצח, lit. "forever," is really connected with וְיָשִׁיבֶם. Cf. for verse Ps. 89:16.

8. MT אסורים. Budde reads אסרם with God as subject. זקים "feters," from an Aram. root זקק, is found only Na. 3:10; Isa. 45:14, and Ps. 149:8. Cf. especially the last reference for form and thought. Cf. also Ps. 107:10.

9. He showeth them then their deeds,
Their transgressions,—that they are o'erweening.
- 10b. Speaks, that they turn from their evil.
11. If then they hearken, and serve Him,
They live out their days with good,
And all of their years in delight.
12. But if not, they pass unto Sheol,
And without knowledge, they perish.
13. For the godless in heart cherish anger,
They send forth no cry when he binds them.
- 10a. Through chastening He openeth their ear,
- 6a. But He granteth not life to the wicked.

9. MT **וַיִּגִּד**, Budde reads **וַיִּגְדֵּר**. "be haughty." The Hithpael is found Job 15:25; Isa. 42:13, and here.

10. V. 10a belongs to the original text of the passage as shown by the LXX and Sah. and is read with v. 6a before v. 12 (LXX text). Hatch retains the half-verse, but Bi. omits. Do not rd. Vav Conversive in **וַיִּגִּד** and **וַיִּאֲמַר**. This use of **אָמַר** = "to command to," is late; found in Dan. Ch. Est.

11. MT **וַיַּעֲבֹד** "serve," is found in this absolute sense only Isa. 19:23. MT **יִכְלוּ**, Hoff. with about 70 MSS Ken. reads **יִבְלוּ**, as in 21:13. MT **וְשִׁנְיָהֶם בְּנִעִימִים**, Duhm and Beer om. as gloss. The last line is a little short, but the three lines are too long for one couplet.

12. V. 12 is not obelized, but it is evident that the LXX translation of v. 12, quoted by Clement of Alex. and the Sah., bears only a very superficial relation to the Heb. text and cannot represent it. The verse, as is shown by its immediate connection with v. 11, belongs also to the insertion but was wrongly identified with v. 12 of the LXX, the Heb. of which may have been pushed out before the insertion. Bi. and Hatch both retain the verse. Duhm suggests that the omission of vv. 7b-11 would be far more probable if v. 12 could be included as it indeed should be. MT **לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ**. It is possible we should follow Beer's suggestion and om. the vb. as inserted from v. 11 because of the length of the line. MT **בְּשֵׁלַח** "by the sword," as in v. 18. Probably rd. with Duhm as Syr. **בְּשֵׂאֵלָה**, though the MT may be correct here and 33:18 changed to agree with it.

13. Codd. Alex. Vat. Marm. Bodl. and Syr. Hex. and Sah. om. v. 13. Bi. and Hatch om. and Budde strikes as a gloss. It belongs with the connected insertion vv. 7b-9, 10b-13. **חַנָּה** is found in the Elihu sections elsewhere only 34:30. Other words are employed for "wicked"—**רָשָׁע**, etc. MT **שִׁים אֵה** "lay up anger," is a very awkward expression, and perhaps incorrect. Duhm supplies **בְּלִבְכֶם** after **שִׁים** (cf. Ps. 13:3); Hoff. reads **אֵה** as a conjunction and **לֹא** referring back to v. 13a—"Nicht einmal Anstalt machen um Hilfe zu bitten."

10a. The order of the Gk. text has been indicated in a note on v. 5. Vv. 10a and 6a (LXX v. 12a) form the first couplet in the Sah. text after v. 5. Clement of Alex. quotes the passage in this order, Strom. 4. 26, p. 641, *Δικαίων ἐπὶς ἀκούει ὁ θεὸς ἀσεβείας δὲ οὐ σώζει*, followed by the Gk. of v. 12b. In the

- 12 LXX. For they seek not the knowledge of the Lord;
And chastened, they yet hearken not.
14. Their soul perisheth in youth,
Their life like to the unclean.
15. But the afflicted by affliction He delivereth,
Through suffering He openeth his ear.
6b. Judgment for the oppressed He giveth;
7a. From the just withholdeth not justice.

disorder of the text due to insertion the Gk. of v. 12a was not recognized as the Heb. v. 6a and a parallel translation was added from Theo. The verse follows well on v. 5 and gives a good antithetic parallelism. למרסר, lit. "to chastening," LXX rd. לרסר. The phrase is very characteristic of Elihu. Bi. reads v. 6a with v. 5 as follows: צדיק לא יחיה רשע.

12. It has been already stated that the present Heb. v. 12 belongs with the insertion. The LXX and Sah. rd. after v. 6a (v. 12a Gk.) the following:

παρὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς τὸν κύριον,
καὶ διότι νοουμένου μοι ἀνέκοι ἦσαν.

Clement of Alex. reads the first line with τὸν θεόν for τὸν κύριον after vv. 10a, 6a. This probably represents a Heb. text somewhat as follows:

מְבַלִּי דַעַת אֵל הַקָּסִי
כִּי הִקְסִי לֹא יִשְׁמָעוּ

This gives a good parallel verse in harmony with Elihu's argument and appropriate between vv. 10a, 6a and v. 14. For the usage in line a cf. Job 4:20b, 21b; 24:8. Vet. Lat. reads in line b, "et cum monerentur." Though the Gk. cannot represent the present Heb. text, the resemblance of a phrase led to its being retained as parallel. The original Heb. may have been dropped when the insertion was made.

14. MT תְּמִיתָ, probably rd. with 18 MSS Ken. תְּמִיתָ. MT בְּקִדְשִׁים. Rd. with Tar. כֶּךְ, Hoff. בְּקִדְשִׁים "durch Heilige." The allusion is to temple prostitutes and was, Duhm suggests, proverbial of an early fate. Budde omits the verse. Cf. 33:18, 25.

15. V. 15 continues the theme of v. 10a in the contrast between the rebellious and submissive. MT אָזְנוֹ. Rd. probably with Vul. אָזְנוֹ. So Budde, Duhm, Beer. The change here brings the application to Job's case. LXX v. 15a represents Heb. v. 15, but v. 15b = Heb. v. 6b as recognized by Budde, Dillmann, Duhm, Bi. Bi. reads vv. 15, 6b, 7a, followed by v. 18.

6b, 7a. These two half-verses obviously form one couplet as in Heb. text. In the Gk. they also follow one another in vv. 15b, 17, though separated by the inserted v. 16. There can scarcely be a question that they are in place here rather than after v. 5. Such confusion must be the work of an interpolator, not the LXX translators. V. 7a, MT עֵינָיו. Rd. with LXX (v. 17) as Budde and Beer. דֵּינִי, Duhm צִדִּיק מִקֵּץ, Budde צַדִּיקִים.

16. Thee also hath lured,
 Away from the cry of distress,
 Freedom that had no constraint,
 The peace of thy board, full of fatness.
17. The judgment of the wicked thou fulfillest;
 Judgment and justice lay hold on thee.
18. Let not wrath stir thee against chastening,
 Greatness of ransom turn away thy heart.

16. This verse is omitted by Codd. Alex. Colb. Vat. Marm. Bodl. and Syr. Hex. and Sah. It must form a part of the insertion because it interrupts the connection between vv. 6b, 7a in the Gk. vv. 15b, 17. It was apparently added with v. 1 to restore connection with the passage after the transposition as 34:33. Like that verse it is very irregular and obscure. It is possible to understand God as the subject and give it a favorable sense—the interpretation adopted by Hr. Del. Hit. Budde, and others, or to read רחב as subject with Ew. Dill. Hoff. and Ley. Though both have difficulties, the latter seems more probable. Duhm and Beer transpose רחב ונחת before מפני צר and rd. as subject. MT הסיחה "entice," can hardly be used in a good sense because of 38:18. Hr. Hit. הסיחה; Beer suggests הסיחה. MT ונחת. Rd perhaps with Hr. Dill. Duhm, Beer ונחת, or with Budde ונחת. MT מפני צר, lit. "from the mouth of distress." Hoff. reads מקציר "dich Eigensinnigen." MT ונחת, Bi. Budde rd. ונחת, Duhm ונחת. MT ונחת "quietness," as Job 17:16 from נחת, Voigt ונחת "das Fleischstück." Wright reads as 3 Fem. Sing. of Aram. stem. The word is strangely used here and Sieg. omits it as corrupt. For the thought of the verse indicating prosperity cf. Ps. 4:1; 18:20; 23:5; 118:5. For a similar use of פני cf. I Sam. 2:1 cited by Ley.

17. V. 17 of the LXX, Vet. Lat. and Sah. is a close translation of v. 7a and has only the word דין in common with the Heb. v. 17. This verse also, though not marked with the obelisk, belongs to the inserted verses and is closely connected with v. 16. Bi. Budde om. מלאה, lit. "thou art full" is curious. Sieg. מלאה. MT דין (v. 17b) is omitted by Duhm, Beer, as a repetition of דין in v. 17a; they also rd. ומשפטו המקה, and Duhm reads לחמה from v. 18 with v. 17. Ley ומהקה Hoff. strikes כי of v. 18 as dittograph and reads חמה with v. 17, "Urteil und Gericht welche das Gift festhalten."

18. Om. כי of MT as dittograph of כי at the end of v. 17 with Bi. Hoff. Duhm, Beer. MT חמה, Ew. reads חמס, Bi. חמ, Budde חמה, Beer חמה. Rd. the MT probably as a *casus pendens* belonging with the following clause. MT בשפק is a doubtful word. (Cf. B. D. B.) In Job 20:22 שפק = "fulness," so translated here by Hoffman. Bi. בשפק, "gegen den Züchtiger." Budde, לשפק "zum Höhnen." Duhm משפק "chastisement," but the form does not occur. Beer omits ב. It is probably best to rd. with Dillmann "bei der Züchtigung" from rt. שפק or ספק "strike," "clap." (Cf. 34:26.) כפר, cf. 33:24. The ransom is the cost of suffering and submission.

19. Shall He order thy deliverance without distress,
And all the forces of might.
20. (Desire not the night,
When peoples go up in their place.)
21. Beware, lest thou turn unto sinning;
For this cause wert thou tried with affliction.
22. Lo, God is exalted in might; .
Who is like unto Him to be feared?
23. Who hath appointed Him His way?
Who shall say, "Thou hast wrought evil."
24. Remember that thou magnify His work,
For thereof all men have sung.

19. The verse has had many and various readings. One interpretation reads שְׂרָקָה as "thy wealth," and עָרָה as "be equal to" (cf. 28:17, 19), referring to the ransom of v. 18. This is held by Hr. Hit. Wright. בָּצָר is then pointed בָּצָר "gold," Job 22:24, 25. Another interpretation reads שְׂרָקָה "thy cry" (cf. 30:24), as subject, "Wird dein Geschrei (dich) ausser Bedrängnis setzen," so Del. Budde. Budde points שְׂרָקָה. Dill. Hoff. understood God as subject and שְׂרָקָה as object. "Wird er dein Bittgeschrei in Ordnung bringen, Ohne," etc. Ley reads הִרְעִיךָ; Bi. בָּצָר לָלֵךְ; Duhm reads שְׂרָקָה and לוֹ for לָא, translating עָרָה as in 37:19, "Wird gegen ihn aufkommen deine Klage." The best suggestion is that of Beer, יִשְׂרָקָה, which is very easy and gives the sense required by the context. (Cf. Syr. דִּנְפִרְקָה.) MT מִאֲמָצִי is probably "powers," but the word is found only here. LXX omits this clause, perhaps because of the difficulty of this word. Sieg. omits vv. 19, 20 as hopelessly corrupt.

20. V. 20 is hopelessly corrupt. It is omitted by the LXX, Syr. Hex. Sah. and may have belonged to the insertion. It may also have been omitted, because unintelligible. Bi. Hatch om. Budde makes no attempt to translate v. 20b, Sieg. omits the verse as corrupt. Duhm alters to read: אֵל תִּשְׁאָה הַלֵּלֶת לְקִלּוֹת עִם מִתְחַבֵּם, "Nicht betrüge dich die Thorheit, dich zu erheben mit dem der sich weise dünkt." MT מִתְחַבֵּם, Voigt reads מִתְחַבֵּם.

21. MT עֲלִיזָה, Budde, Duhm, Beer rd. עֲלִיזָה "iniquity." MT בְּחֵרָה "thou hast chosen." Rd. the vb. in the Aram. sense, "try," "test," as Isa. 48:10 with Ew. and Wright. Point בְּחֵרָה. The reading is supported by the Syr. and gives a much more natural interpretation to the passage. V. 21b is omitted in LXX, Syr. Hex. Sah., but evidently belongs in the text. Bi. omits vv. 21b, 22a.

22. MT יִשְׁגִּיב "be exalted." Hiph. is found only here. Beer suggests יִשְׁגִּי, regarding ב as dittograph. MT מוֹרֶה "teacher." Rd. probably Aram. form קִרָּא "fearful" (LXX φοβερὸς). So Ew. Hrz. Stud. Bi. Baeth. suggests מוֹרֶה or מוֹשֵׁל. Cf. Isa. 30:20 for MT and Dan. 2:47 for corrected form. Cod. Vat. marks 36:22—37:6 as omitted.

23. Cf. 9:12; 34:13.

24. MT חֲשִׁנִּי. Wr. reads as a Hiph. denominative, "Remember how great is his work." MT שְׂרָרָה is probably a Polel from שָׁרַר "sing" (cf. 33:27). Wr. reads it from שָׁרַר "see." LXX, Sah. Syr. Hex. om. vv. 24b, 25a as super-

25. Every man may look upon it;
A mortal shall see it afar off.
26. Lo, God is exalted, we know Him not;
The number of His years is unsearchable.
27a. For He restraineth the drops of the water;
28b. Makes His cloud to o'ershadow many men.
33. He appointeth a season for the cattle,
They know the place of their lying down.

fluos; they probably understood שרר as "see." The parallelism shows the lines should be retained. Hatch omits 36:24b—37:5a of the Heb. text.

25. Bi. Budde omit v. 25. Cod. Alex. marks vv. 25–28b as omitted.

26. With v. 26 begins the last of the large, connected insertions omitted in the LXX text. The verses omitted in the section 36:26–37:14 form a connected poem on the rainstorm. V. 26 may have formed the opening verse of the poem or may have been added here when the poem was inserted. It is somewhat irregular and resembles 36:22a, 37:5b very closely. Budde, Duhm, Beer om. as a gloss; Bi. also omits it. MT מטסר שניר, Duhm suggests מַעֲשֵׂי שֶׁנִּיר "great" is an Aramaism, found here and in 37:24. The omitted verses in the various recensions to the end of the chapter are as follows: Cod. Vat. vv. 22–33, Cod. Alex. vv. 25–28b (Gk. text) vv. 29–33, Codd. Marm. Bodl. vv. 26–28a, vv. 29–33, Cod. Colb. vv. 29–33, Syr. Hex. Sah. vv. 26, 27b, 28a, 29–33. For further discussion of the omission cf. Introduction.

27a, 28b. These two half-lines formed the verse of the original text between which was inserted the verse 27b, 28a of the Rainstorm Poem. V. 27a probably motivated the insertion. MT ינרע is usually translated "draw up," but "restrain," "withdraw" (15:4, 36:7) represent its meaning more accurately. MT נטפס מים, Duhm, Beer rd. נטפס מים. The noun נטפס is found only here. V. 28b has a double translation in the LXX, one having been mistakenly added from Theo. LXX rd. *ἐσκλασεν δὲ νέφη ἐπὶ ἀμυθῆτι βροτῶ*; so also Sah. Theo. *γροφωθήσονται*. Vul. *prætexunt*, rd. probably *עָלָי קָב* or possibly *יָחַה קָב* (cf. Ps. 147:8). חפס "cover" is translated by *σκιᾶειν* in Deut. 33:12. This reading is good and the corruption not hard to explain. The *עב* fell out before *עלי* and the *ירעפ* of MT was adopted after the insertion, perhaps under the influence of Isa. 45:8, where this form is parallel with *יזיל*. MT רב, Sieg. רב, Wright רביבים "showers."

33. After v. 28b the LXX Codd. B. Alex., Vat. (248) and 10 cursives, Syr. Hex. Sah. rd. two verses; MS C and 21 cursives after 37:5a:

ὥραν ἔθετο κτήρεσιν, οὐδασιν δὲ κολίτης τάξιν.

ἐπὶ τοῦτοις πᾶσιν οὐκ ἐξιστάται σου ἡ διάνοια, οὐδὲ διαλλάσσεται
σου ἡ καρδία ἀπὸ σώματος;

The last two lines are easily recognized as the Heb. 37:1, as Dillmann, Bi. Duhm have already observed. But the two lines which precede represent also the preceding Heb. 36:33, which has become very corrupt. The Heb. represented is somewhat as follows: יַגִּיד עַתְּ לְמִקְנֶה יְדַעִי מְקִים מְעִיקָה. This text gives a good parallel verse structure, perfectly appropriate after

37:1. At this is not thy heart stirred,
And leapeth it not within thee?

27b. He poureth out the rain as His mist,

28a. Which the skies drop down from above,

29. Who can know the spreading of the cloud,
The thunderings of His pavilion?

v. 28b, and is not far from the radicals in Heb. v. 33. On the other hand v. 33 in its present form is unintelligible and has given rise to innumerable conjectures, none of which are satisfactory. Sieg. omits the verse as unintelligible in its present condition. The corruption of the text is due to displacement, when the insertion was made. In the present context the verse had no meaning and various attempts at correction were made. If למקנה and ידעו became transposed the ensuing corruption is easily explained. Because of this corruption Origen failed to recognize the Gk. v. 28b, c as representing Heb. 36:33, 37:1; he inserted a duplicate translation from Theo. and allowed the Gk. verses to retain their original position after v. 28. If the inserted verses 36:29-32, 33:2-5a are removed, the position of these two verses is the same in MS C and 21 cursives. The evidence for an insertion is almost indisputable. Dill. and Duhm pronounce Gk. v. 28b a gloss on 36:33b, 37:8. Bi. retains 36:33, but reads the Heb. text which yields no appropriate sense. Cf. for thought Ps. 104:20-22.

37:1. This verse is quite closely represented by the Gk. v. 28c. MT אה אה. Rd. probably as Bi. Duhm דלל; also with LXX, Vet. Lat. לךך as do Bi. Duhm, Beer. Syr. reads לבן. MT וירר from נרר "leap." Cf. Hab. 3:6. MT ממקומו, lit. "from its place." The verse expresses the effect of pondering on the wisdom of God, as expressed in vv. 27a, 28b, 33. In Codd. Colb. Vat. Marm. Bodl. this verse is obelized in its position at the beginning of chap. 37. Syr. Hex. obelizes v. 1a. The Sahidic, of course, reads the verse after 36:28.

27b, 28a. LXX, Sah. Syr. Hex. om. these lines as already noted under v. 26. They form the real beginning of the Psalm of the Rainstorm found in 36:27b, 28a, 29-32, 37:2-5a, 6b, 11, 12 (cf. Introduction). MT יזק is from rt. זקק, used of refining of metal, and rare (Mal. 13:3; Ps. 12:7). Rd. with Vul. (*effundit*) יצק, Theo. *επιχύνει*, Syr. reads 3 Mas. Sing. This gives a far more natural reading. Duhm יזק, Hoff. Budde יזקי. MT מטר, Wr. מטר. MT לאדר, Duhm מאדר. אר is found only here and in Gen. 2:6. Wright reads the final ך with v. 28a. Bi. omits vv. 27b, 28a, but reads a part of vv. 28a with v. 28b. Cf. here Ps. 104:13.

29. Vv. 29-32 form an unbroken section of the inserted poem. Bi. omits the verses, Budde vv. 29, 30. Cf. Ps. 18:11, 105:39. MT אה אה. Rd. rather with Syr. ומי. So Sieg. Budde, Ley, Duhm, Beer. The MT gives an ambiguous sense. MT מפרשי "the spreadings," is found only here and Ez. 27:7. MS Ken. 245 מפלשי. Cf. 37:16. MT תשארת "thunderings," the form is dubious; we should perhaps rd. with Beer some form from שרה, Theo. *σάραρα*, Sym. *εξ ερη*, but no suitable form is known. MT סכרו; for the probable reference see Ps. 18:12.

30. Lo, about Him He spreadeth the cloud,
And He covereth the tops of the mountains.
31. For thus He judgeth the peoples;
Yea, and gives good in abundance.
32. About His hands He wrappeth the lightening,
He directeth it unto its goal.

CHAP. 37

2. Hark now and hear the rumbling of His voice,
The muttering that goeth forth from His mouth.
3. Under all the heavens He sendeth it forth,
His lightening upon the ends of the earth.

30. MT אורו "his light"; in the context אִידֹר is better and the change very easy. Theo. (LXX MS א^α) reads αωκ, a transcription of the form in MS B הִפֹּה; Tar. מיטרא, Duhm, Beer rd. אִידֹר. MT וְשִׁרְשֵׁי הַיָּם "the roots of the sea," is a very improbable reading and furnishes no parallel to v. 30a. Duhm's suggestion is attractive and easy, וְרִאשֵׁי הַיָּם. MT כְּסֵהָ, Budde reads בְּקֶה, Marshall כְּסֵהָ "the roots of the sea are his throne." The suggestion to make הַיָּם refer to the heavenly sea (Hrz. Hit. Hoff.) is unconvincing.

31. בם "by them," must refer to אִידֹר of v. 30, thought of in collective sense. His rainclouds bring judgment and bounteous harvests. MT וְיִין, Beer, Duhm וְיִין "gives food." MT מִכְבִּיר is found only here with the force of a substantive, Hiph. of כָּבַר in 35:16. Cf. with this section Ps. 107:33-36; Job 37:13.

32. MT וַיִּצֵּו, lit. "commandeth." MT בְּמַקְנֵי "the assailant," but the Hiph. Part. is not what is wanted here. Rd. with Ols. Hoff. Dill. Budde, Beer, Duhm בְּמַקְנֵי "the mark" (cf. 7:20). MT עֲלִיָּה, rd. perhaps with about 5 MSS Ken. Sieg. Budde, עֲלִיָּה, referring to the lightning. Duhm proposes for v. 32, וְיִקְלְעֵהוּ בְּמַקְנֵי, "Auf der Schleuder wiegt er das Licht, und schleudert es auf das Ziel." The Rainstorm Poem is continued without interruption in 37:2-5a. The poem is printed as a whole in the section of the introduction on "The Omissions of the LXX Text."

37:2. Vv. 2-5a, 6b continue the Rainstorm Poem after 36:32. The omissions of the MSS are as follows: vv. 2-5a, Codd. Alex. Colb. Vat. (248 H. and P.) Marm. Bodl. and the Sah.; vv. 2b-5a, Syr. Hex; v. 6b, Codd. Colb. Bodl. Syr. Hex. Sah.; v. 6, Cod. Alex. MT שָׁמַעַי, Duhm and Beer rd. with Theo. and Syr. שָׁמַעַי. This may be correct. Del. Hit. Budde, Genung, and others find here a suggestion of the whirlwind in which Yahweh appears. The reference is, however, quite general. Hatch omits vv. 2-5a, a part of v. 6b and v. 7a. Bi. omits vv. 2-5a, 6b.

3. MT יִשְׁרֹהוּ is probably from שָׁרָה "send forth," found only here and in the Qere Jer. 15:11; cf. Aram. שָׂרָא. MT עַל may perhaps be a mistaken writing for אֶל, as Budde regards it.

4. And after it roareth a voice,—

He thundereth with the voice of His majesty,

He stayeth not, when His voice is heard,

6b. The rain and His mighty storm.

5b. Great things He worketh,—we know Him not;

6a. For He saith to the snow, "Fall earthward."

7. Upon every man He setteth a seal,

That all men may know His doing.

4. V. 4a, b forms the first couplet here; v. 4c should be read with v. 6b. Of the intervening lines vv. 5b, 6a belong to the original text and v. 5a is undoubtedly a weak gloss on v. 4b, as Budde, Duhm, Beer have recognized. It was probably added when the Rainstorm Poem was inserted here. MT קול קירי. Possibly rd. with Budde, Duhm, Beer, and 2 MSS Ken. קירי. MT ירעם בקול גאורו, Duhm reads ירעם אל, and גאורו as object of ירעם; the following מ and כ" he reads as מקרי and translates, "Nach ihm brüllt sein Donner, Gott lärmt mit seinem Donner, Seine Kehle hemmt er nicht, aus seinem Munde lässt sich hören sein Donner." Budde reads גאורו for גאורו. MT יעקבם, 2 MSS Ken. יעקב. (cf. Tar.). The word is used here like Aram. עקב "hold back," which should perhaps be read (cf. B.D.B.). Hoff. translates "verfolgen" like Syr. עקב. Budde ברקם יעקב. The suffix in יעקבם is usually interpreted as referring to the lightning, but the reference is very remote. It stands in apposition to the object in v. 6b, which forms a very appropriate conclusion.

6b. MT וגשם מטר וגשם מטורות עזי. There is evidently a dittograph here, for the line is too long. Probably om. with Syr. וגשם מטורות, since מטורות is an unknown form. Ols. Sieg. Duhm, Beer om. Sieg. reads וגשם ומטר. 3 MSS Ken. om. וגשם ומטר, as do Hoff. and Budde. Rd. גשם ומטר. MT עזי, Duhm תקעזי, Hoff. Beer עזי "be mighty." Cf. with the verse Ps. 29:3.

5. V. 5a through נפלאת is omitted by the LXX witnesses. The first three words are certainly a gloss on v. 4b and are omitted by Budde, Duhm, Beer; נפלאת is in a very curious construction. The whole line was probably added by an editor. MS Ken. 223 omits. Duhm suggests אל נפלאת יראני. Budde reconstructs the latter part of the verse from 36:26, עשה נפלאת ואין, חקר גדלאת. It is after v. 5a that Gk. MS C. and 21 cursives rd. 36:33, 37:1, thus confirming the omission and the position of these verses after 36:28b, where they are found in Gk. MSS B. Alex. Colb. and others and in the Syr. Hex. Sah. V. 5b with v. 6a forms the next verse of the original text after 37:1; so Bi.

6a. הוה is probably an Aram. form of Ar. הוה "fall." 16 MSS Ken. הוה, Vul. *descendat*. Sieg. Budde rd. ויה "water" (cf. Isa. 55:10); Graetz, Perles ויה. V. 6b following upon v. 6a is in a very peculiar construction and interrupts the connection in thought between v. 6a and v. 7. It follows far better on v. 5a.

7. In retaining v. 7a a departure is made from the evidence of the LXX and Sah. The line, however, plainly belongs in this context, not in the

8. Then the beasts go into their dens,
And abide in their hiding places.
9. From His chamber cometh the tempest,
Out of the storehouses cold.
10. By the breath of God ice is given;
And the water's breadth lies in constraint.
 11. Yea, He ladeth the thick cloud with lightning,
The cloud scattereth forth His light.
 - 12a. And is turned about on every side,
To work according to His wisdom,—

Rainstorm Poem; it may have been considered too similar to v. 7b. Bi. retains the entire verse. MT בִּיד gives a very curious statement. Rd. with Hit. Duhm, Beer בִּיד and cf. the use in 9:7 and Jd. 3:23. Duhm omits כל in v. 7a, Budde that in v. 7b. MT אֲנָשִׁי מַעֲשֵׂהוּ, Hoff. Duhm, Beer rd. אֲנָשִׁי, Budde אֲנָשִׁים עֲשֵׂהוּ, Dill. Wr. אֲנָשִׁים עֲשֵׂהוּ. It is simplest to read with the Vul. as Ols. Baeth. אֲנָשִׁים מַעֲשֵׂהוּ. Sieg. omits vv. 7, 8 as an interpolation, out of place in the context. This difficulty is removed if the Rainstorm insertion is recognized.

8. MT נִחְבְּאָה. Probably rd. with Budde simple Impf. מִעֲנָה. Cf. 36:33, 38:40. Duhm regards the Greek 36:28b = Heb. 36:33 as a gloss on this verse which became misplaced.

9. הַחֲדָר. "the chamber." Duhm adds חֲדָר (9:9) and omits the article; Hoff. regards the word as the name of a planet. MT וּמִפְּזִירִים is probably a Piel Part. from זָרָה, referring perhaps to "the scattering" winds. So Dill. and Bi. translate, but the parallel is not good. Hoff. Duhm refer it to planets or stars (Vul. *Arcturo*). Rd. probably with Voigt, Budde, וּמִפְּזִירִים, for the sake of the parallelism. Cf. Ps. 144:13. Sieg. omits the word as corrupt. A similar form of expression is found in 38:22; Ps. 104:13; 135:7.

10. MT יִתֵּן. Rd. with Sym. Syr. Tar. Hit. Budde, Duhm, Beer. יִתֵּן. Dill. Hoff. read אֵל as subject of יִתֵּן. MT מִיָּצֵק, lit. "constraint." Wr. translates "molten" = "mirror." Cf. 37:18. For vv. 9, 10 cf. Ps. 147:17. Bi. omits v. 10. Only v. 10a is omitted by the majority of LXX witnesses and this is due to its likeness to v. 9b. The verse structure shows that it should be retained.

Vv. 11, 12a, b, 13 form the conclusion of the Rainstorm Poem. They are omitted by the Syr. Hex. and Sah. The exact limits of the omissions in the Gk. MSS are a little hard to ascertain. The LXX must, however, have read v. 12c since the present Gk. text has a duplicate translation of the line. V. 11 was not omitted in the Gk. and Lat; v. 12a, b, c are lacking in Cod. Colb.; v. 12b, c in Cod. Marm.; vv. 12c, d, 13 in Cod. Vat. (243 H. and P.); v. 13 Codd. Alex. Bodl. The three omitted couplets should follow vv. 4c, 6b. Bi. retains vv. 11a, 12. MT בָּרִי is apparently ב and a form רִי from רוּה "saturate," but it is found nowhere else. Sym. Vet. Lat. Vul. rd. *frumentum*, פֶּרִי. Hoff. reads רִי = רִי "Schaustück," Duhm בָּרִי "hail." Probably read with Budde for the sake of parallelism בָּרִי. MT יִטְרִיחַ "burden," but the verb is found only here. Cf. noun, Isa. 1:14; Deut. 1:12, and cf. also 28:8. Beer

- 12c. All these things He hath commanded them,
On the widespread face of the earth.
13. Whether for judgment on His land,
Or if in mercy He send it.
14. Hear this, oh Job, and give pause;
Ponder the marvels of God.
15. Knowest thou how He ordereth His work,
Makes the light of His cloud to shine forth?
16. Knowest thou the poisonings of the clouds,
The marvels of the Perfect in Knowledge?

proposes יִצְרָה "send forth," from an Ar. stem. MT צָנַן should be pointed צָנַן with 15 MSS Ken. Theo. Tar. (MSS). Vul. and Budde, Duhm, Beer.

12. V. 12 really forms two couplets, the first of which was omitted in the LXX and forms a part of the inserted poem. That the omission only extended through לַמַּעַל and not through יָצוּם is indicated by the Sah. text and by the duplicate translation of v. 12c in the present LXX. V. 12a, b refers to the cloud and lightning of v. 11, thought of in the collective sense. This should be followed by v. 13. The clouds are turned about to work God's will for judgment or blessing. MT מַסְבִּיחַ is a plural from מָסַב, found only here. Probably rd. with Budde מִסְבִּיב "round about." Beer inserts after it כְּסוּבָה, Budde יִתְהַלֵּךְ, to supply a vb., but מִתְהַפֵּף should be read with v. 12a. Duhm, Ley insert with Budde יִתְהַלֵּךְ, but after מִתְהַפֵּף. V. 12b consists of בַּחֲבוּלֹתָי לַמַּעַל in which the first word counts for two accents: בַּחֲבוּלֹתָי, Kethib לִחְיוֹ, Qere לִחְיוֹ. The word belongs to the Wisdom vocabulary and is found only Prov. 1:5; 11:14; 12:5; 20:18; 24:6. MT לִקְצֵלָם, Beer reads לִקְצֵל, and joins with אֲשֶׁר מְכַל.

12c, d form a couplet giving a summary of vv. 5b, 6a, 7-10, which should be followed by v. 14. In the original form אֲשֶׁר may have been אֵלֶּה, which LXX reads here. MT יָצוּם, Beer reads יִצְוֶהוּ. MT אֶרְצָה (cf. Prov. 8:31), Budde, Beer rd. אֶרְצָה (34:13); Duhm כְּרִצְנוֹ (Est. 1:8). Sieg. omits v. 12c, d as a gloss.

13. MT אִם לְאֲרָצוֹ, Duhm reads לְקִמְאָרָה "for a curse"; Hit. לֹא רָצוּ, Hoff. לְרָצוֹ = לְרָצוֹ. Beer suggests omission of second אִם and vb. יָרִי. Om. the second אִם with Sah. and Sieg. Dill. Budde, Duhm, Beer. The parallel verse structure is much improved by this correction. MT יִמְצָאֶהוּ, rd. probably with Duhm יִצְאָהוּ, which gives a far better meaning. Bi. Budde om. the verse. It follows well on vv. 11, 12a, b and forms a very appropriate conclusion to the Psalm of the Rainstorm. The comparison which Duhm suggests with Enoch, chap. 59, is very striking. Cf. also 36:31 and Ps. 107:33-36.

14. MT עָמַד, Beer עָמַד.

15. MT אֵל עֲלֵיהֶם. Rd. with LXX Sah., as do Bi. Duhm, Beer. The MT עֲלֵיהֶם has no suitable antecedent and the construction with עַל is very curious. MT בְּשִׁיחַ, Perles בְּשִׁיחַ. Budde omits vv. 15, 16 as glosses.

16. MT הַחֲדָשִׁי. Beer proposes הַחֲדָשִׁי. MT מַפְלְשֵׁי "weighings," is found only here. The same formation is found in מִשְׁרָשִׁי, 36:29, which

17. What time thy garments are hot about thee,
When the earth lieth still 'fore the south wind,—
18. Canst thou beat out with Him the skies,
Firm like to a molten mirror?
19. Show me what we might say unto Him!
We order not our speech for our darkness.
20. Should it be told Him I would speak—
A mortal speak unto his own confounding?
21. For now men behold not the light,
When yet it shines forth in the skies,
When a wind hath passed and cleared them,
22. And from the north cometh a shining,
Upon God is terrible majesty!

Budde reads here. Sieg. omits the word as unintelligible. MT מַקְלָאוֹת. The form should probably be the same as that in v. 14, נַפְלָאוֹת; so Syr. apparently and Sieg. Budde. LXX ἐξάλσις δὲ πτώματα ποικίλην. Duhm proposes פְּתָאוֹת מִפְּלָאוֹת רַעִים מִפִּיל תְּהוֹם מְרַעֵם.

17. The relative אֲשֶׁר may be interpreted as referring to Job—so Dill. Hoff. Budde Bi. Wr., "Thou whose garments," etc. The verse is to be connected with v. 18. Heat, as cold, is of God's sending and Job is powerless before them.

18. חֲרָקִיעַ "beat" or "stamp out," is usually used of gold. The Hiph. is found only here. MT רִאִי "mirror," is found only in this place. The verse apparently refers to the hard, glittering aspect of the midsummer heaven. Duhm, Beer trsp. before v. 21. Bi. omits the verse which is omitted by some of the LXX witnesses. The last line may have caused difficulty.

19. MT הוֹדִיעֵנִי, rd. with about 25 MSS Ken. LXX, Syr. Oriental Kethib חֲדַי, as do Bi. Dill. Beer. MT נִצְוָה "order," is used of speech as 32:14 and 33:5 without an object. Voigt נִצְוָה. Ley inserts after it לְפָנַי. MT חֹשֶׁךְ "darkness," is used of ignorance, as Eccles. 2:14, or of perplexity, as Job 19:8. Sieg. omits the word as uncertain.

20. MT הִיָּסָר. Duhm הִיָּסָר, and אֲדַבֵּר for יְדַבֵּר. Hoff. reads יָסָר and יִבְלַע. Duhm reads יִבְלַע as related in meaning to בָּלַל. בָּלַע appears to be used here in the sense of "confound," "confuse," as Ps. 55:10; lit. "swallow up."

21. MT בְּהִיר "bright," "brilliant," occurs only here and is dubious. Probably rd. with Sieg. בְּהִיר "when it giveth light" (cf. Syr.). Budde נִסְתָּר, Beer suggests בְּהִיר, *obscurus* from בְּהִיר, as in Syr. Bi. omits v. 21c and v. 22a. Duhm reads v. 21a, c as a couplet and v. 21b after v. 22a. Vv. 21c, 22a form, however, a very good couplet, as do vv. 22b, 23a. Del. Hit. Budde and others believe that the moment before the appearance of Yahweh is here pictured. The best interpretation is that of Dillmann: men cannot gaze upon the unveiled sun, how then hope to behold the majesty of God. The following verses bear out this interpretation. Budde reads in v. 21a רָאִי.

22. MT זָהָב "gold," is somewhat dubious and inappropriate here, even

23. The Almighty we cannot find Him;
Mighty in strength and judgment,
Great in justice, He afflicteth not;
24. Therefore shall all men fear him;
The wise in their own sight He regardeth not.

THE WORDS OF A SECOND WISE MAN

CHAP. 32

Vv. 11-16. *Introduction to Chap. 34*

11. Behold, for your words I have waited;
I hearkened unto your reasonings,
While that ye sought you out words.
12. Yea, unto you I attended,
But lo—none reproved Job,
None of you hath answered his words.
13. Say not, we have found us out wisdom,
Let God, and not man, overthrow him.
14. Not with words against me hath he striven,
Nor with words like to yours would I answer.

in a figurative sense. Rd. probably זָהָר "brightness," Ez. 8:2; Dan. 12:3 with Duhm, Beer. Sieg. reads יִדְהִי. MT נוֹרָא "fearful," Beer suggests נִרְאָה. Cf. Ps. 104:1, 2. V. 22b is parallel with v. 23a.

23. שָׁנִיא is an Aramaism. Cf. 36:26. MT וְרִב. Rd. rather with Syr. וְרִב, as do Hoff. Duhm, Beer. It gives a better parallelism and construction. Duhm and Beer trsp. צִדִּיקָה after כַּח and rd. וּמִשְׁפָּט with לֹא יַעֲנֶה. Sieg. omits לֹא יַעֲנֶה as a gloss. It is possible that we should point יַעֲנֶה "he answereth not," as Hr. Hoff. LXX, Syr. interpret in this way.

24. MT יִרְאִיָּה. Rd. probably with LXX יִרְאִיָּה. So Budde, Duhm, Beer. MT יִרְאָה. About 45 MSS Ken. read יִרְאִי. Cf. Ps. 138:6.

32:11. Vv. 11-16 were inserted here by the compiler from their place at the head of chap. 34. The insertion is shown by the duplication of v. 10 in v. 17 to restore connection with v. 18. A new introduction addressed to the friends begins in v. 11; for a further discussion cf. the section of the introduction on "The Composition" of the Speeches. Vv. 11c, 12 are omitted by several LXX MSS, Syr. Hex. and Sah.; they are supplied from Theo. Duhm, Beer trsp. v. 11c and v. 12a. MT אֲזִינָּה = אֲזִינָּה (5 MSS Ken.). הוֹחֲלָהִי, Hiph. of יָחַל, is used only here and v. 16; elsewhere in Job the Piel is found. מִלָּה "word," is an Aramaism; found 33 times in the entire book and 14 times in Elihu. Bi. with LXX reads מְלִי הַבְּנוֹתֵיכֶם מְלִי. לְדַבְּרִי הָאֵלֵינוּ עַד הַבְּנוֹתֵיכֶם מְלִי.

12. בֵּין with עַד is found only here and 38:18 (doubtful) Syr. וְעִדְיָכֶם.

13. פֶּן "Beware lest," Job 32:13; 36:18. MT מִצָּאֵנִי, Bi. מִצָּא. MT יִרְפְּנוּ, MS Ken. 245 יִרְפְּנוּ, MS Ken. 207 יִרְפְּנוּ. Juss. Impf. of נָרַם here; elsewhere Niph. is found. Hit. prefers the meaning of דָּרַס "thrust," "push."

14. MT עֵרָה, Syr. אֵרָה "set in array," is used of words as here, 33:5;

15. Sore dismayed, they answered no more;
Their words had departed from them.
16. And I waited,—they spoke not a word—
They stood, but they found not an answer.

CHAP. 34

2. Hear now, ye Wise Men, my words,
Ye of knowledge, give ear unto me.
3. For the ear testeth words,
As the palate trieth meat.
4. Let us search out for ourselves judgment;
Let us know among us what is right.

37:19; Ps. 5:4. MT אֲלִי, 2 MSS אֲלִיךָ. Bi. with LXX מִלִּין קְאֵלָה מִלִּין. Cf. for thought 13:18; 23:4.

15. Vv. 15, 16 are omitted by several LXX MSS, Syr. Hex. and Sah.; they are supplied from Theo. The verses add nothing in their present context. הִעֲרִיקוּ. The Hiph. is found in Job 9:5 and used intransitively as here, Gen. 12:8; 26:22; Prov. 25:1.

16. Possibly om. עַד with Theo. as repeated from v. 15; so Duhm. וְהִרְחִלְתִּי is usually rd. as interrogative with question particle omitted.

17. אֲעִנֶה אֶה־אֲנִי חֲלָקִי אֲחִנֶּה דְעִי אֶה אֲנִי
I will answer, even I, my share;
I also will show my knowledge.

V. 17 is a weak var. of v. 10 added when vv. 11–16 were inserted to restore connection with v. 18; it indicates limits of the original text. LXX reads: "Answering Elihu said, I will speak again." Cod. Alex. has v. 17 in small characters marked with an obelus. MT אֲעִנֶה, Budde, Beer, Duhm rd. אֲעִנֶה.

34:1. וַיֵּעַן אֱלִיהוּ וַיֹּאמֶר. This heading is not in place here. 34:2 should follow directly after 32:16, but this or a similar statement probably stood originally before 32:11 at the beginning of the introduction to this section. Duhm suggests that 34:1 may be from the hand of the reviser, who confused 32:11–17. The headings of the chapters are probably imitations of those in the dialogues.

2. The Wise Men addressed are certainly not the three friends, but the hearers of a Wisdom Debate or even understanding readers. Bi. reads הֶאֱזִינוּ מִה טִיב.

3. V. 3 = 12:11. LXX omits v. 3, probably because it is quoted. Theo. supplies the verse. MT לֹא־כָל, Theo. Syr. Vul. rd. לֹא־אֶכֶל, as do Sieg. Beer. Rd. perhaps rather לֹא־אֶכֶל with Budde as in 12:11. Duhm reads v. 3 with 33:31 f. after 34:16; Beer transposes v. 3 after 33:33. Bi. Hatch om. vv. 3, 4.

4. LXX omits v. 4 with the exception of מִה טִיב which they read at the end of v. 2, showing that they had the text of v. 4; Theo. supplies. MT וַנִּבְחַרָהּ, Kautzsch translates "test" or "find out by testing" (cf. Isa. 48:10), and considers the usage an Aramaism.

5. For Job hath said, "I am righteous,
But God hath taken from me my justice.
6. Though right is mine, I am counted a liar;
Without transgression,—grievous is my wound."
7. Where is a man like to Job,
Who drinketh up mocking as water?
8. He maketh fellow with doers of evil,
He walketh with men of sin.
9. And he saith, "It profiteth not a man,
That he find in God his delight."
10. Far be it from the Lord to do evil,
From the Almighty to work iniquity.
11. As a man's work doth He render unto him,
In the path of a man He findeth him out.

5. Cf. 9:15, 20; 13:18; 27:2.

6. LXX is marked as omitting vv. 6b, 7 (supplied from Theo.), but v. 8a of the Gk. probably represents Heb. v. 6b and v. 7 is omitted because quoted from 15:16. Bi. omits vv. 6b, 7; Hatch also reading v. 6a with v. 8a of Gk. MT **על משפטי**, lit. "Contrary to my judgment." MT **אֶקְוֶה**, Duhm **אֶקְוֶה**. It would be attractive to read **אֶקְוֶה** "I am in pain" (cf. Job 5:18; 14:22) for parallelism. (Cf. Jer. 15:18, where the root is used as a parallel to **אָנַשׁ**.) MT **חֲצִי**, lit. "arrow" (cf. Job 6:4). Duhm **מִדְּחִי** (Isa. 30:26) **חֲלִי** "sickness" (cf. Isa. 53:3, 4), is also proposed.

7. Cf. 15:16.

8. Cf. 22:15. MT **לחברה**, lit. "for fellowship," is fem. noun which is found only here (cf. B.D.B.). Dill. reads as an Inf. with fem. ending.

9. Job's words are not exactly stated here. Cf. 9:22; 21:15, 17. MT **יִסְכֵּן**. The vb. is used with **ל** in 22:2; 35:3, but cf. also 15:3. MT **בְּרִצְרוֹ**. The root is used with **עִם** only Ps. 50:18 and here. Budde omits vv. 9, 10a as a gloss influenced by 35:3.

10. MT reads in v. 10a **לִי לִבְבִּי שְׁמַעְתִּי** "Therefore, hearken unto me, ye men of understanding." But the line is too short for a verse and does not come in well between v. 9 and v. 10b, c which form a regular verse. LXX MS 23 marks the verse in the margin as an insertion. Probably omit with Bi. and Budde as a gloss added from vv. 2-4. Duhm fills out the verse as v. 2. MT **מִרְשָׁע**, rd. with LXX **מִרְשָׁע**. So Budde, Beer, Duhm; the sentence structure is improved by the change. MT **וְשָׁדִי**, rd. probably with LXX Sah. Aeth. **וְלִשְׁדִּי** for grammatical construction; so Bi. Beer, Duhm. MT **מִקְעִל עֵקֶל**, but the line is too short. Rd. with Budde **מִקְעִל עֵקֶל** (cf. 36:23). The reading is perhaps supported by the Syr. and the transcriptional error would be very easy because of the similarity of the letters. Duhm, Beer rd. **מִקְעִל עֵקֶל** is found only here and 34:32 in Job; elsewhere **עֵקֶל**.

11. MT **כִּי פִעַל**, rd. with LXX Syr. Sah. Aeth. **כִּי כַפַּעַל**. The **כ** has fallen out after another. MT **כִּי פִעַל**. Rd. with LXX Tar. **כִּי פִעַל**. MT **כִּי פִעַל**. Rd. with LXX Qal. **כִּי פִעַל**. The Hiph. of **כַּפַּעַל** is not common and the change improves the meaning.

12. Yea, surely God cannot do evil,
The Mighty perverteth not judgment.
13. Who is it hath appointed Him the earth,
Who hath 'stablished the circle of the world?
14. If He turn again to Him His spirit,
If His breath unto Him He withdraweth,—
15. All flesh would perish together,
And man return unto dust.
17. Shall a hater of right hold dominion,
Or the Just One, the Mighty do evil?
18. Who saith to a king, "Thou nothingness!
Thou wicked one!" unto the nobles.

12. MT יִרְשָׁע, but the Hiph. is usually used in the sense of "condemn" which is not usable here. Rd. perhaps with Budde, Beer, Duhm יִרְשָׁע. Cf. for thought 8:3.

13. MT אֶרְצָה is probably a poetic form (cf. 37:12; Isa. 8:23). MS Ken. 173 אֶרְצִי. Bi. Budde, Beer אֶרְצָה. MT שָׁם. Beer reads עליו after it or with Budde שָׁמַר; Duhm transposes לְבִי from v. 14 after שָׁם and reads בְּחַבְלֵי. Wright transposes vv. 13-18 after v. 29 and reads in the order: 1-12, 19-29b, 13-18, 29c-37. Cf. with verse, 38:23.

14. MT יִשִּׁים is found in Qere both occidental and oriental. Rd. with 5 MSS Or. Keth. LXX(?), Syr., יִשִּׁיב, which is necessary for the sense. So Budde, Beer, Duhm rd. לְבִי רוּחוֹ. The two words are obviously variants and לְבִי is to be omitted because of parallelism, as do Bi. Budde, Beer. Ley omits רוּחוֹ. For thought of verse cf. Ps. 104:29, 30; Eccles. 12:7.

16. ואִם בִּינָה שְׁמֵעָ וְזֹאת הָאֲזִינָה לְקוֹל מִלִּי. If the verse belongs here בִּינָה must be read with LXX Sym. A. Theo. Syr. Tar. Vul. in order to obtain a grammatical construction. Beer, Budde rd. thus. Dill. Duhm rd. בִּינָה. LXX MS 23 adds before the verse וַיַּעַן אֱלֹהֵי וַיֹּאמֶר. Cod. Alex. prints the verse in small characters and marks it with an obelisk. The verse should probably be omitted as an editorial gloss like v. 10a. It interrupts the connection here and is not in harmony with the rest of the chapter which is addressed to the Wise Men. It was probably added to supply an appeal to Job like those of the other chapters. Duhm transfers 33:31-33 and 34:3 to a place before v. 16. Beer suggests this also.

17. MT יִחַבֵּשׁ, lit. "bind," but this sense of rule is perhaps derived from Isa. 3:7 (cf. LXX, Isa. 3:7). צִדִּיק כְּבִיר is a compound expression. Sieg. inserts ך before כְּבִיר. MT תִּרְשָׁע. Rd. יִרְשָׁע (LXX reads ἀσεβής at beginning of v. 18). Cf. Syr. Tar. The change is supported by the versions and gives a better parallelism (cf. 31:12). The change is proposed in Kit. Ed. and read by Bi., "Gerechte Allmacht freveln."

18. MT הָאֲמִיר. Rd. with MS Ken. 349, LXX, Syr. Vul. Sah. Aeth. הָאֲמִיר, as do Ew. Hrzs. Dill. Hoff. Budde, Baeth. Duhm, Beer. Sieg. omits the verse; Bi. reads as one line and combines with v. 19a.

19. Who giveth no reverence to princes,
But the poor as the rich He regardeth;
For the work of His hands are they all.
20. In a moment they die, and at midnight,
Yea, rich men are shaken and perish;
And the great are removed,—without hand.
21. For His eyes see the way of a man,
And all of his steps He beholdeth.
22. Nor darkness, nor shadow of death,
Shall hide there them that work evil.
23. For he hath appointed no place,
To come before God in judgment.
24. He shattereth the mighty, unquestioned,
In their place He makes others to stand.

19. V. 19b, lit. "He knoweth not the rich before the poor." MT נכר "know." Cf. 21:29. Duhm דחיר. Combine v. 19c with v. 20a.

20. MT יגעשו עם is found Ps. 119:62, Exod. 11:4 only. MT יגעשו שועם. The phrase is unnatural and unintelligible in the context. Rd. with Budde, Beer יגעשו שועם. The dropping out of the similar consonants would be very easy and the change gives the required parallelism. Duhm מעם. MT ויסיר, Beer with MS Ken. 17 ויסיר. Duhm יסיר, Budde יסיר. Rd. perhaps with Beer and MS Ken. 248 אכירם to agree with the vb. Beer in quoting these two MSS in Kittel's ed. has transposed their numbers.

21. Cf. 22:13; 31:2-4.

22. Bi. omits a part of v. 22, all of v. 23, and reads v. 24 as one line with v. 25. The LXX undoubtedly read the text; it condenses in v. 22 and paraphrases v. 23. Cf. for the verse, Ps. 139:11.

23. MT ישים מועד is not intelligible here. Rd. with Wr. ישים מועד "appoint a place of meeting." The corruption would be easy and the change affords an excellent sense in the context. So Budde, Duhm, Klosterman rd. Beer ישים מועד, Marshall ישים מועד. MT אל אל, Sieg. reads אלה אל. Cf. for verse, 9:32. Hatch omits vv. 23-33. Hoff. reads v. 23 after v. 28. LXX, Syr. Hex. Sah. om. v. 23a; Cod. Alex. Vet. Lat. v. 23.

24. לא חקר, lit. "without inquisition," Syr. Vul. translate "without number," which G. Hoff reads. Cf. 5:9; 9:10; 36:26. MT רעע ירע is Aram. loan word for רצק, not found elsewhere in Job. Bi. reads v. 24a as one couplet with v. 25a. LXX of v. 24 is influenced by 5:9; 9:10.

25. לכן יכיר מעבדיהם והפך לילה וידכאו

Therefore he knoweth their works,
He overturneth them in the night, and they are crushed.

The verse is out of place in the context and is probably to be omitted as a weak gloss on vv. 20, 21, with the exception of וידכאו, which is to be read with v. 26 for the sake of the meter. LXX omits v. 25b together with Syr. Hex. Sah.; Cod. Alex. vv. 25-33, Codd. Colb. Marm. Bodl. vv. 25-34. Budde

26. He crusheth and dismayeth the wicked,
In the sight of men's eyes doth He smite them.
27. For that they turned from following Him,
Unto all His ways gave no heed,
28. To bring unto Him the cry of the poor,
And the cry of the needy He heareth.
29. If He be silent who shall condemn?
If He hide His face who then may chide Him?
Alike with a man or a nation;
30. When He setteth a godless man as king,
Because of the people's transgressions.

omits vv. 25-28 as glosses; Duhm, Beer om. v. 25 through לילה and connect ידכא with v. 28. Bi. reads v. 25a. מעבר is Aram. for מעשה and found only here. MT ויהפך, Sieg. reads ויהפכם.

26. Rd. ידכא of v. 25 with v. 26; so Syr. (LXX reads probably with v. 26 as ידעך "he quenches," cf. 18:5, 6; 21:17). Rd. probably ידעך and connect with the following (cf. 6:9). Bi. ידעך רשעים. MT תחת רשעים, has no meaning here. Rd. ידעך רשעים "he dismayeth the wicked." Bi. Budde rd. ידעך רשעים. Duhm for רשעים reads רשעים (cf. Am. 6:11). MT במקום ראים, lit. "in the place of those seeing," Syr. probably rd. במקום ראים "place of fear." Wr. reads רשעים "shades."

27. Rd. are variants and very awkward here. Omit probably ידעך with Bi. LXX Syr. appear to have only one connective. Budde, Beer, Duhm om. the verse as a gloss. Cf. 21:14.

28. The verses from 28-33 are probably a later insertion with a particular national reference. Cf. Introduction. LXX, Cod. Vat. (MS 248 H. and P.) omits vv. 28-33 which are supplied from Theo. Syr. Hex. Sah. also om. For omission of other Gk. codices cf. note on v. 25. Bi. omits vv. 28-33. Hoff. reads v. 23 after v. 28. MT עליו = אליו, as MS Ken. 125. MT has צעקה in both line a and line b. Duhm and Beer rd. for second רצחה or רשעה.

29. MT ידעך. Rd. with MS Ken. 235 ידעך "be quiet," as Budde, Beer rd. The Hiph. does not give the meaning required by the passage. MT ידעך, Hit. Del. Stud. rd. ידעך (Isa. 14:16). MT ידעך "behold him." Probably it is better to rd. with Budde for parallelism ידעך "reprove him." The MT text appears a natural but meaningless conjecture (cf. 40:1). Wr. reads ידעך "release him" (cf. 11:13; Est. 7:3). Duhm reads v. 29c with v. 30 and for ידעך of MT ידעך or ידעך (cf. 8:6). ידעך is proposed in Kit. ed. Budde omits v. 29c as a gloss. Stud. and Hoff. rd. vv. 29f. as the objection of an opponent.

30. Vv. 30-33 appear very corrupt. It is difficult to be sure what the exact form of the text may have been. MT ממשל. Rd. with Theo. Tar. Vul. ממשל, as do Wr. Hoff. Budde. The MT gives an almost impossible reading and construction. Apparently it is a special case here of God's "hiding his face." Budde suggests ממשל before v. 30b. MT אדם חנה is omitted by Duhm as a gloss. MT ממשל "snares," gives no sense here. Beer

31. Let him say unto God, "I endure—
I will not again commit sin.
32. If I have sinned, do thou show me,
If I have wrought evil, it shall be no more."
33. (Shall his requital be as thine?
For thou hast rejected it.
Thou shalt choose, not I,
And what thou knowest, speak.)
35:15. And now, since he visiteth not his anger,
Nor greatly regardeth transgression,—

suggests מִעֲקֶשֶׁת. Wright מִקְצוֹר "from the lowest of the people." Rd. probably with Vul. (*propter peccata*) (Theo. ἀπὸ δυσκολίας, Syr. רְחֹמָא) מִקְשָׁעֵי עַם. The reading has some support and gives an understandable sense to the passage.

31. MT הֲאֵמֶר. The interrogative ה is not in place in the middle of a line. Rd. probably הֲאֵמֶר, Inf. Absolute Niph. = Imper., which gives the most natural sense here. Bi.¹ rd. לִהְיוֹת, Theo. ὡς αὐτὸς; so Duhm, Beer rd. כִּי אֵל אֱלֹהֵי אֱמֶר נִשְׁאָרִי חֲשָׁאֲרִי לֹא אֵבֵל עַד בֵּל אַחֲזָה. Ley reads v. 31, 32 כִּי אֵל אֱלֹהֵי אֱמֶר. MT נִשְׁאָרִי. Duhm reads נִשְׁאָרִי (cf. II Kings 14:10) "Ich habe mich überhoben." Beer suggests הִתְנַשְּׁאֲרִי. Ley compares use of word Lev. 5:1, 17; Num. 5:31; 9:13; 14:34. Insert עַד at the end of the verse from בִּלְעָדִי in v. 32 and destroy בֵּל as dittograph. Beer, Duhm rd. this. LXX MS A, 23 rd. בִּלְעָדִי with v. 31. Sieg. omits v. 31 as corrupt.

32. MT בִּלְעָדִי אַחֲזָה, lit. "beyond what I see," gives no suitable sense here and the usage is very peculiar. Treat the phrase as suggested above. Rd. probably also (with Vul.) אֵם חֲשָׁאֲרִי for parallelism. The Syr. in v. 31c (= v. 32a of Heb. text) reads apparently דִּלְא חֲשָׁאֲרִי. Beer suggests the reading of the Vul. עָקֵל. Cf. note on 34:10.

33. V. 33 appears quite hopelessly unintelligible in its present form and no really satisfactory suggestion has been made. The first half of the verse is very irregular. MT יִשְׁלֹמֶנָה. Possibly rd. with Budde, Duhm יִשְׁלֹם. Sieg. reads שְׁלֹמִים. MT מֵאִסָּה. Duhm reads מֵאִסָּה אֲתָרִי "Dass er verwürfe sein Begehren." Bi.¹ supplied אֵל דִּרְכִּי after מֵאִסָּה. MT רַחֲבֵרִי. Ley rd. "Denn du verwirfst, du wählst, aber nicht Gott!" MT רַחֲבֵרִי, Syr. apparently reads in the Aram. sense "thou art tested." Possibly this should be read in Niph.

15. Vv. 15 and 16 of chap. 35 should be read before 34:34. They are evidently not in place where they are as the introductory וְעַתָּה and their connection with 36:2 show. They are related in style and thought to chap. 34 and may be read very naturally before the section 34:34-37, from which position they were probably forced out before the present insertion 34:28-33. Later a place was found for them in chap. 35, just before Elihu's last speech. 2 LXX MSS, Syr. Hex., Sah. omit the verses which are supplied from Theo. (cf. Introduction). Duhm, Beer transpose v. 16 after 35:8 and connect v. 15 with 36:2. Bi. Hatch omit vv. 15, 16. Ley supplies הַאֲמֶר in thought after

16. Job openeth his mouth with vanity,
And multiplieth words without knowledge.
34. Men of understanding will say unto me,
Yea, and the Wise Man who heareth;
35. "Job hath spoken without knowledge
And his words are not with understanding."
36. But, verily, Job is tried unto the utmost,
For his answering as men of evil.
37. He addeth transgression unto sin;
He clappeth his hands among us,
And multiplieth his words against God.

וְעֵתָהּ for understanding of the passage. MT פָּקֵד, rd. with Theo. Sym. פָּקֵד, as do Hit. Budde, Sieg. Beer. MT בַּפֶּשׁ. The word פֶּשׁ "folly" is found only here. Rd. with Theo. Sym. Vul. בַּפֶּשֶׁעַ—Reuss, Stud. G. Hoff. Dill. Baeth. Duhm, Beer.

16. MT יִקְבֹּר. The Hiph. "multiply" is found only here and 34:37; also 36:31 with the force of a substantive. 20 MSS Ken. Theo. Sym. rd. יִקְבִּיר "make heavy."

34. Vv. 15, 16 of chap. 35, having stated the speaker's verdict on Job's words, vv. 34, 35 bring the appeal to the judgment of the Wise Men, parallel to that in vv. 2-4.

35. וְעֵתָהּ is used here as 10:7; 13:2; 15:2; 33:3; 35:16; 36:12. Elsewhere in Elihu וְעֵתָהּ is found 32:6; 36:3; 37:16. וְהִשְׁקִיל, Inf. Absolute (cf. Jer. 3:15), Ols. וְהִשְׁקִיל.

36. MT אֲבִי is an unusual particle of wishing. Rd. rather with LXX, Sah. Aeth. אֵילִם, as do Sieg. Bi. Hitz. אֲבִי, Hoff. אֲבִי (Prov. 23:29), Budde (cf. 32:8). Rd. יִבְחַר as a simple Impf. It is usually read as a wish, but the particle is not good support for this reading and a wish is rather out of place here. Bi. reads יִבְחַר and omits עַד "Möcht er doch Einfalt wählen!" Duhm proposes יִזְהַר (LXX μᾶλ', "Ach liesse sich doch Hiob warnen!") MT בִּאֲנָשִׁי. Rd. with MSS Ken. 89, 95, LXX כִּאֲנָשִׁי. Beer suggests this reading. The sense is improved by it.

37. שִׁפֹּךְ = שִׁפֹּךְ 27:23 in meaning. The word means literally "strike," "smite," but here one must supply, at least in thought, כַּיָּד "hands." The expression is symbolic of mocking. Ley omits v. 37b which is too short as it stands; Bi. Duhm om. also, including פֶּשַׁע of v. 37a. MT יִרְבֵּה is a poetically shortened form for יִרְבֶּה.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.=Version of Aquila.

Aeth.=Aethiopic version

Alex.=Greek Codex Alexandrinus.

Baeth.=Baethgen F., *Hiob* in Kautzsch's *Die heilige Schrift d. A.T.*

B. D. B.=Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the O.T.*

Bi.=Bickell, G., *Das Buch Hiob*.

Bodl.=a Latin MS of the Old Latin and the Vulgate in the Bodleian Library (Cod. Lat. 2426).

Col.=a Greek MS of the LXX, Cod. Colbertus, in the Bibliothèque National (1952).

Del.=Delitzsch, Franz, *Das Buch Hiob*.

Dill.=Dillmann, A., *Hiob*.

Enc. Bib.=*Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

Ew.=Ewald, H., "*Hiob*" in *Die poetischen Bücher des A.T.*, III.

Hit.=Hitzig, F., *Das Buch Hiob*.

Hoff.=Hoffmann, G., *Hiob*.

H. and P.=Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum*.

Hrz.=Hirzel, L., *Hiob*.

Jew. Enc.=*Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

Ken.=Kennicott, B., *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum*.

Keth.=Kethib, the Hebrew Text as written.

Kit. Ed.=Kittel's edition of "Job" in *Biblica Hebraica*.

LXX=Greek Septuagint version.

MT=The Massoretic pointed text.

Marm.=A Latin MS found in the monastery of Marmoutiers.

Ols.=Olshausen in 2d ed. of L. Hirzel's *Hiob*.

P.=Priestly document of the Hexateuch, ca. 450.

Qr.=Qere, the Hebrew text as read.

Sah.=Sahidic version.

Sieg.=Siegfried, C., *The Book of Job*.

Stud.=Studer, L., *Das Buch Hiob*.

Sym.=Version of Symmachus.

Syr.=Syriac, Peshitto version.

Syr-Hex.=Syriac Hexapla version.

Tar.=Targum on Job, or Aramaic version.

Theo.=Version of Theodotion.

Vat.=A Greek MS of the LXX in the Vatican (346, numbered by H. and P. 248).

Vet. Lat.=Old Latin version.

Vul.=Vulgate version.

Wr.=Wright, G. H. B., *The Book of Job*.

ASSYRIAN LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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a) battu 'side.'

This word is not to be found in any of the Assyrian dictionaries. In Harper's *Letters* (cited henceforth as H.), No. 482, obv. 6-8, we read: ^{am}Itu'a'e'a ana bat-te ammiti ša nāri usebir ina ^{a1}Sinni maṣarta inaṣur (*sic!*). Here battu evidently means 'side' and we must render: 'I have moved my Itu'eans across to yonder side of the river to keep watch in Sinni.' ^{am}Itu'a'e'a is certainly plural, and the singular verb (inaṣur) is therefore a slip of the writer, probably due to the preceding verb (usebir). H. 103, rev. 10, we have ina bat-te anniti 'on this side.' The familiar word battubatti (DHW, 192) 'round about' is, of course, merely a reduplication of battu and means properly 'on every side.' For similar forms in Hebrew see Gesenius' *Heb. Gram.* § 123, (d), 1. In H. 403, obv. 4. 13, ina batti occurs in the meaning of the reduplicated form. If Muss-Arnolt is right in his restoration of the mutilated passage *Creation* IV, 73 (*Hebraica* IX, 20), battu is to be found there, though it would have to mean 'beside,' not 'around.'

b) kalaku 'raft.'

The kelek or raft peculiar to the Tigris, consisting of a framework or platform of wood supported by a number of inflated skins, has a long history. Keleks, exactly similar to those in use at the present day, are depicted in the Assyrian sculptures, and they have doubtless been used upon the river from time immemorial. It is natural to suppose that the name 'kelek' might be Assyrian also, but the cuneiform equivalent has not heretofore been found. An interesting passage in Harper's *Letters* (No. 312, obv. 10-12), relating to military affairs, reads: nāru da'na; lā ana ^{su}maškirē illaka, lā ana ^{su}kalakē (ka-la-ki), 'The river is strong; it is suitable neither for swimming skins nor for keleks.' The former, it

will be understood, were used for the soldiers, the keleks for the transportation of supplies. Da'na is, of course, to be taken as the permansive of danânu 'to be strong.' Both kalaku 'kelek' and maškiru 'swimming skin' have the determinative (SU) of objects of skin or leather. The latter word occurs in the orthography ^{su}ma-aš-ki-ri pl. in H. 804, rev. 20, and as ^{su}maš-ku-ru in H. 710, rev. 1. In the latter passage it seems to mean 'wine-skin.' I have not found kalaku in any other passage than the one cited above.

c) bâsi, 'on account of, in order that.'

The word bâsi, which occurs in a number of passages in the letters, has not yet found a place in the Assyrian dictionaries. As a rule it is written ba-si, but the orthography ba-a-si (H. 49, obv. 10; 476, rev. 10) shows that the *a* is long. As a preposition bâsi seems to mean 'concerning, on account of.' E.g. bâsi xanî (=xannî) šû 'on account of this very thing,' H. 311, obv. 13; bâsi xurâçi 'in regard to the gold,' H. 476, rev. 10; bâsi mîni nippaš 'in what manner shall we act,' H. 19, obv. 9. The word, however, occurs more frequently as a conjunction, with the meaning 'in order that,' and is commonly followed by the precative. E.g. šarru bêlî dibbê ṭabûte issišu lidbubu, šarru bêlî lušarxissu, bâsi lillika dibbê ṭabûte ana nîšê matîšu u ana axêšu liškun. 'Let the King speak good words with him, let the king encourage him, that he may go and speak (lit. make) good words to his countrymen and to his brethren,' H. 608, obv. 7-11; bâsi luta' im ina libbi . . . 'that I may give orders in regard to . . . ,' H. 49, obv. 10 (cf. DHW, 697); bâsi laššî 'in order that I may bring,' H. 467, rev. 10. Cf. also H. 15, rev. 5-7; 453, obv. 11-12. Bâsi may also be followed by the present. E.g. You ask for these houses bâsi taddani ana ardânika, 'in order that you may give them to your servants,' H. 190, obv. 7; bâsi çâbê ikâbusû dullu ippušu 'in order that the fellows may tramp off, and get to work,' H. 537, rev. 7.

d) tikpu 'row, course of stone, or brick.'

In Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* (p. 707) tikpu is explained as 'a measure of length,' and the passages Asurn. II. 132; III, 136 are

cited, while in Meissner's *Supplement* the word is given without translation. It means a 'course' of masonry, or a 'layer' of bricks, and the latter meaning seems to have been long ago suggested by Oppert. The writer of H. 628, referring to building operations at Tarbiç, says (obv. 12-16): ša šarru bêli ina qât Zabini išpurâni mā atâ! tikpê ša pûli ištên iddat šani lâ illak 'with regard to the King's message by Zabini (to this effect) "see now! the courses of stone do not fit one alongside the other"'—i.e. they are ill joined. The meaning of tikpu seems to be clear from this passage. Signifying 'a course of stones' or 'a layer of bricks,' it naturally came to be used as a unit of measure and, since it is invariably used in measures of depth or height, it would express the perpendicular height of such a course or layer. The form tipku, with transposition of *p* and *k*, is especially common, and is set down in the dictionaries (DHW, 700; Muss-Arnolt, 1143) as tibku. Peiser, in KB. i, 94, l. 132, reads tiqpi and adds the note (p. 95, n.): "nicht mit tipki zu verwechseln, das Längenmass ist. tiq-pi=Ziegelschicht? (Winckler)." Schrader, in KB. i n. 5, cites Oppert as reading tipqu and rendering 'Ziegelschicht.' In all these cases no etymology is suggested. As a matter of fact the etymology is entirely clear. Tikpu is certainly to be compared to Talmudic תִּקְּוֹ 'to follow immediately,' whence תִּקְּוֹה, תִּקְּוֹהָ 'immediate sequence' etc., the underlying idea being that of a row, which was doubtless the original meaning of the Assyrian noun. The connection of meaning is obvious. It is equally obvious that tipku is nothing more than a transposed form of tikpu.

Critical Notes

LAMENTATIONS 4:9

טוֹבִים הָיוּ הַלְלֵי־הָרֶב מִחְלֵי רָעַב שֶׁהֵם יָזְבוּ מִדְּקָרִים מִתְּנוּבוֹת שָׂדֵי :

The A.V. and R.V. translation of this verse is: "They that be slain with the sword are better than they that be slain with hunger: for these pine (margin, Heb. *flow*) away, stricken through, for want of the fruits of the field." According to this rendering, the clause "for these pine away, etc.," qualifies "they that be slain with hunger." Cook's note in the *Speaker's Commentary* is as follows: "As the verb (יָזְבוּ) properly means to 'flow away' and 'stricken through' (מִדְּקָרִים) is never used metaphorically but only literally of those pierced with a weapon, Professor Hornblower refers this clause to those 'slain with the sword' and translates, 'Happier were those slain by the sword, those pierced ones whose lives gushed forth while yet there were fruits of the field,' lit. 'from the produce of the field,' i.e., going directly from it to battle and being slain outright before famine began to appear. The clause is undoubtedly difficult." Most of the later commentators point out the same difficulty of applying מִדְּקָרִים to starving persons. But מִתְּנוּבוֹת שָׂדֵי is an extraordinary way of expressing "while yet there were fruits of the field," although it has been adopted by several authorities. The suggestion in Adeney's footnote (*Expositor's Bible*) "fade away, stricken through, like the growth of the field" (reading, I suppose, מִתְּנוּבוֹת) leaves the difficulty of מִדְּקָרִים untouched, as does Ewald's emendation מִתְּלַאבוֹת "by reason of the drought of the field." Thenius proposes the translation, "welche dahinschwanden (wie) durchbohrte (i.e., מִנְדְּקָרִים), weil keine Früchte des Feldes vorhanden sind," referring the clause to הַלְלֵי רָעַב. Against this, however, it may be urged that the objection to מִדְּקָרִים applies also to יָזְבוּ which is nowhere else used figuratively. Budde, *Die Fünf Megillot*, offers no solution to the difficulty, but mentions De Hoop-Scheffer's

emendation מוקדים "for they pine away, consumed for want of the fruits of the field." Dyserinck accepts this emendation and reads פְּתִיבוֹת "consumed like the fruits." But יָזְבוּ is incompatible with this reading.

My suggestion is that the root of the difficulty is to be found in the interpretation placed on חָלְלֵי רֶעֶב. If objection is raised to the use of מְדַקְרִים in a case where no actual weapons are employed, does this not also apply to חָלְלֵי? Everywhere else it is used of those slain by a sword or some other weapon. Isa. 22:2, חָלְלִיךְ לֹא חָלְלִי, חָרַב וְלֹא מִתִּי מִלְחָמָה is no exception, if we interpret it as referring to the prisoners of war who were put to death after the battle was at an end. Lam. 4:10, be it noticed, speaks of the cannibalism to which Zion was reduced: "The hands of pitiful women have sodden their own children," and I suggest that חָלְלֵי רֶעֶב refers to those who were slain in order to provide food—"slain by reason of famine." In place of יָזְבוּ I read יָדְדוּ Hoph'al of יָדַד. The Hoph'al does not occur in the Old Testament, but the Hiph'il does. The translation of the whole verse would thus be: "They that be slain with the sword are better than they that be slain because of famine; for these are sodden, pierced through for want of the fruits of the field." Vs. 10 follows quite naturally on this, and the use of the construct is to an extent paralleled by מִתִּי מִלְחָמָה.

A. COHEN

PSALM 81:7

הַסִּירוּתִי מִסֶּבֶל שְׂכָמוֹ כִּפְּסִי מִדֹּר תַּעֲבִרְנָה

Cheyne (Ps. 2) annotates as follows: "כִּפְּסִי cannot be right. We should expect כִּתְּפִי (|| שְׂכָמוֹ). The ambiguous word דֹּר is also very improbable. The usual theory is that a basket for carrying clay to the brick-kiln is meant. But why is nothing said of the brick-making? Some MSS and edd. have מִדֹּר." This variant is given in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, but, so far as I am aware, nobody has yet attempted to explain the reading דֹּר. Yet, strangely enough, there is evidence, although it is slight, of a Semitic word דֹּר with the meaning "load, burden," which if adopted here gives

an exact parallel to סָבַל. The word occurs once in the Talmud (Baba Ḳama 92b) in a popular saying: אִי דְלִית דּוּרָא דְלִינָא וְאִי אִי דְלִית דּוּרָא דְלִינָא וְאִי דְלִינָא לֹא לֹא "If thou lift up the burden, I will lift it up, but if not, I will not lift it up." The root דּוּר may be akin to דָּרָא which is frequently to be found in the sense of "to carry" In Persian دَار, "to carry" is quite common (Vullers i. 790), and may perhaps also be traced in 'tollere' and τλῆναι. I notice that Dukes, *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, p. 297, suggests the meaning "burden" for וְאִי-דּוּרָא מִי יְשׁוּרָחָא Isa. 53:8.

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MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
(CONTINUING HEBRAICA)

VOLUME XXVII

APRIL, 1911

NUMBER 3

TABLETS FROM THE R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON COL-
LECTION IN HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM,
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BY IVAN LEE HOLT
St. Louis, Mo.

The tablets here published belong to a collection presented to the University of Chicago in 1908, by Mr. R. Campbell Thompson, formerly assistant professor of the Semitic languages in the University. It is now known as the R.C.T. Collection and contains, in addition to the tablets herein published, (1) a few other badly broken contract tablets; (2) about fifty fragments of tablets, including the fragments of many astronomical texts; (3) nearly two hundred cones or fragments of cones of Gudea.

Most of the tablets are in a poor state of preservation; many crumble in the hands, while several others have been rubbed so badly that the text is scarcely legible. This has rendered work on them very difficult. Few restorations have been made; these are inclosed in brackets in the transliterations. Every trace of a sign has been indicated in the texts.

RCT, I

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹[L A-DU] I [L]. ²[L A]-DU II [C]. ³[L] A-DU III [CL]. ⁴[L] A-DU IV [CC]. ⁵L A-DU V CCL. ⁶L A-DU VI CCC. ⁷L A-DU VII CCCL. ⁸[L A]-DU VIII CCCC. ⁹[L A]-DU IX [CCCCL].

¹⁰[L A]-DU X [D]. (Rev.) ¹[L] A-DU XI [DL]. ²[L] A-DU XII [DE]. ³[L] A-DU XIII [DCL]. ⁴[L] A-DU XIV [DCC]. ⁵[L] A-DU XV DCCCL.] ⁶[L A-DU XVI DCCC.] ⁷[L A-DU XVII DCCCL.] ⁸[L A-DU XVIII CM.] ⁹[L A-DU XIX CML.] ¹⁰[L A-DU XX M.]

TRANSLATION: (Obv.) $50 \times 1 = 50$, $50 \times 2 = 100$, $50 \times 3 = 150$, $50 \times 4 = 200$, $50 \times 5 = 250$, $50 \times 6 = 300$, $50 \times 7 = 350$, $50 \times 8 = 400$, $50 \times 9 = 450$, $50 \times 10 = 500$. (Rev.) $50 \times 11 = 550$, $50 \times 12 = 600$, $50 \times 13 = 650$, $50 \times 14 = 700$, $50 \times 15 = 750$, $50 \times 16 = 800$, $50 \times 17 = 850$, $50 \times 18 = 900$, $50 \times 19 = 950$, $50 \times 20 = 1,000$.

It is interesting to note the method of writing numerals in this multiplication table. ADU is the regular Sumerian equivalent for the English "times," German "Mal." Cf. Prince, *SL*, p. 19. Its use in the arithmetical formulae of the Babylonians is an indication of the persistent influence of Sumerian culture on Babylon; cf. Hilprecht, *BE*, XX, p. 23.

RCT, 2

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹1/2 ma-na 3 šiklu kaspi ²māru ša -mDa-bi-bi ³mMar-duk ⁴u^f ⁵m (Rev.) ¹amēl šangu mdNabû ²Bābili^ki ³mAr-ša-[ka-a šar šarrāni].

Aramaic note: מֵטָר.

TRANSLATION: (Obv.) 1/2 mina 3 shekels of silver . . . , son of Dabibi , Marduk , and (Rev.) The priest Nabû Babylon Arsaces, king of kings.

Aramaic note: "Writing of"

L. 2: For Dabibi as a name element cf. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*.^{*} See also Clay, *BE*, VIII, Part I, under the list of proper names. Rev. 1-3: For other tablets from this period cf. *ZA*, III, pp. 129 f. Aramaic note: cf. Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts*, p. 144, No. 40.

RCT, 3

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹. ^dBēl ². apil mdEa-ilūtu(-tu)-ibni ³a-na ḥarrāni mim-ma ma-la ina eli ⁴ip-pu-šu a-ḥi ina ū-tur mdBēl-iddin ⁵it-ti Ri-mut-dBēl ik-kal ⁶a-di 4 šiklu kaspi pu-ut zitti ⁷1/3 Ri-mut-dBēl la épūš ša eli ⁸li'ū kaspi ša ḥarrāni ⁹mdNabû-mudammik apil-šu ša mdNabû-tāriš apil mdEa-ilūtu(-tu)-ibni ¹⁰amēl mu-

^{*} Hereafter, *NY*.

kin-nu ^mLa-a-ba-ši-d-Marduk apil-šu ša ^mKab-ti-ia apil
^mE-gi-bi. (Rev.) ¹. [^mRi]-mut-dBēl apil-šu ša
². [Ea]-ilūtu(-tu)-ibni.

TRANSLATION: (Obv.) Bēl . . . ,
 son of Ea-ilūtu-ibni, for a partnership. Whatever therein they shall
 make, a share in this profit Bēl-iddin together with Rīmūt-Bēl shall
 enjoy, up to 4 shekels of silver for a share. One-third (of his share)
 Rīmūt-Bēl has not paid in, which (is specified) on the tablet of silver of
 partnership of Nabū-mudammik, the son of Nabū-tāris, the son of
 Ea-ilūtu-ibni. Witnesses: Lābāši-Marduk the son of Kabtiya, the son
 of Egibi. (Rev.) Rīmūt-Bēl, the son of [Ea]-ilūtu-
 ibni.

This tablet deals with a partnership. Bēl-iddin and Rīmūt-
 Bēl are the contracting parties; one-third of the latter's share
 has not been paid in; the amount of income on a share is limited.
 L. 3: ḥarrāni is, perhaps, "business partnership"; cf. Strass-
 maier, *Nb*, 199, 4, and *Nbk*, 88, 5. L. 4: ūtur is profit, surplus
 (וּתֹר); cf. Strassmaier, *Nbk*, 51, 4, and *Cyr*, 148, 7. L. 5:
 ikkal=shall enjoy. L. 8: GIŠ-LI-ĪU-SI-UM=li'û, tablet. *Br*,
 1127. Cf. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*,* pp. 115
 and 116.

RCT, 4

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹. pi ². . . . ^{md}Bēl-erba
 mār ³. . . . ir-iš-ti(?) ul si-ni(-iḳ)? ⁴. . . . a arab
 Addaru lib-bu-u ⁵. meš šir

TRANSLATION: (Obv.) Bēl-erba, the son of
 (?) not (be pressed together)(?) . . . month Addar in the
 midst of

All that can be read with certainty in this tablet is the proper
 name in l. 2. L. 3: siniḳ, from sanāḳu=press together, close.
 Reading uncertain. L. 4: libbû=ina libbi.

RCT, 5

TRANSLITERATION: ¹18 ḳa ki-me ²a-na iṣpidnu† ³la māḥir Bēl-
 itti-ia 12 ḳa māḥir ⁴arab Abu ūmu 9 kan.

TRANSLATION: 18 ḳa of meal for the table Bēl-ittiya has not received;
 he has received 12 ḳa. Month Abu, day the ninth.

* Hereafter, *ADD*.

† Written GIŠ-DA.

Bél-ittiya has received only a part of the meal he ordered for table use. GIŠ-DA = pidnu; cf. Strassmaier, *Nb*, 95, 5; 219, 2; 558, 11. See also II R, 46 a, b, 43, and Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge*,* p. 302. Ll. 1 and 3: For ka see Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, etc.*, pp. 398 and 399, where further literature is cited.

RCT, 6

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹[Ina hu]-ud lib-bi-[šu ². . . . ru-ba amēl mu-ban-nu ³bīt Šamaš ša Sipparaki† arab ⁴arab Tebētu u arab Addaru napharu 4 arḫu amēl mu-[ban-nu] ⁵ina E-babbara(-ra) u 4 arḫē ⁶ša bīt dBelit Sipparaki ki-i pi-[i] ⁷. tam-mi-ḫut ūmu(-mu) ša ⁸amēl mu-u ⁹md (Rev.) ¹Ina ka-[nak] ²pani mdNabū ³mE-sag-[gil] ⁴mdŠamaš-Ea ⁵mdNabū-u ⁶mdBēl ⁷apilm

TRANSLATION: (Obv.) Willingly the architect house of Šamaš of Sippar, month month Tebet and month Adar, total 4 months, the architect in Ebabbara and 4 months of the house (temple) of Bēlit in Sippar. According to the agreement (it) fell down the day of (or, claimed the day of) (officer) (Rev.) By the seal of Before Nabū Esaggil Šamaš-Ea Nabū Bēl son of

From what we have of this tablet it seems to deal with repairs by the architect on the temples of Šamaš and Bēlit at Sippar. L. 2: mubannu = architect; cf. Strassmaier, *Nb*, 579, 6; 259, 6. For the participial formation see Tallqvist, *Sprache der Contracte Nabûnâids*, p. 7. Ll. 3 and 6: UD-KIP-NUN(KI) = Sippar. L. 4: arḫu: this should be read as plural though it is written without the plural sign. L. 7: tamīḫut(tamḫut). Prt. of maḫātu = claim, in business documents.

RCT, 7

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹. kaḫkadu ²Nu-ub-ta-a mārat-su ³ša mdMarduk-šum-ibni apil mBalāṭ-su-dŠamaš 'ina eli La-ba-ši apil-šu šam[Balāṭ-su] ⁴apilmE-sag-gil-a-a ⁵ina muḫḫi I ma-ni-e ⁷. . . . [i]-rab[bi] (Rev.) ¹amēl mu-kin-nu . . . ²apil-šu ša mLa-ba-ši ³mdMar-

* Hereafter, *BV*.

† Written, UD-KIP-NUN(KI).

duk-šum-ibni apil-šu . . . ' ^mSad-din-nu(?) . . . '
 arab Abu ūmu 20 . . . ' [^mKu]-ra-šu šar . . . '
 šar matāti.

TRANSLATION: principal of Nubta the daughter of
 Marduk-šum-ibni the son of Balātsu-Šamaš, held against Labāši the son
 of Balātsu the son of Esagila On one mina shall
 increase Witnesses . . . son of Labāši , Marduk-šum-ibni
 the son of , Saddinnu(?) month Abu, day
 the twentieth Cyrus, king king of lands.

The transaction here recorded is a loan on the part of Nubta
 to Labāši. L. 1: *kaḫḫadu* = capital, principal. Cf. Lev. 5, 24,
 כֶּהֱחִיזָהּ. L. 2: Nubta: cf. *AJSL*, XVIII, p. 253. Nubta (my
 bee) may be a term of endearment and not a survival of totemism.
 Ll. 6 f.: The rate of interest is unfortunately lost.

RCT, 8

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹. tu ¹Ḫi-il-pu ²[mārat]ša ^mdNabū-
 ku-šur-šu ². si iš tum ul si ⁴. 27 *ka še-bar*
 in-na-din

(Rev.) ¹^mdBēl- . . . ušur ^mdNabū-šum-ušur

TRANSLATION: Ḫilpu the daughter of Nabū-kušuršu
 . . (?) . . not 27 *ka* of grain he will pay.

(Rev.) Bēl- . . . ušur Nabū-šum-ušur

The name of only one party to the transaction is preserved,
 the lady Ḫilpu. A payment of grain is involved. L. 3: the
 fragmentary condition of this line does not warrant any transla-
 tion of it. There are no less than six seal-impressions on this
 piece of a tablet. Over each one is written *kunukku* and under
 one of them is a part of a name, Bēl

RCT, 9

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹^mdNabū-it-tan-nu mār ^mBa-la-[ti
²ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šu a-na i-ti-[ru ²na-di-e dul-lu ša
 nam-zi-tum a-di eli 'ki-[it] dul-lu-šu a-na arḫi 3 šiklu kaspi
 . . . ' *ka bit*(?) (Rev.) ¹. ²a-šar
 ša-nam-mu 1/2 ma-na kaspi i-nam-din ³amēl(?) mu-du(?)
^mdBēl-uballiṭ(-it) mār ^mdNabū-it-tan-nu ⁴^mŠilli-^dBēl
 amēl gal-la ša ^mU-din-na-⁵ 'išten(A-AN)ilḫū(-u). (Edge) ^mdBēl-
 uballiṭ(it) Babiliki arab Airu ūmu 13^{kan} šattu 10^{kan} mAr-[taḫ-
 ša-as-su šar matāti]. (End) dul-lu ša(?) id-di-nu dul-
 lu

TRANSLATION: Nabû-ittannu the son of Balâti willingly for the payment completing of the work on the vessels; until the end of his work (at the rate of) 3 shekels of silver per month In case another he shall pay 1/2 mina of silver. The artisan(?) Bêl-uballiṭ the son Nabû-ittannu (and) Šilli-Bêl the slave of Udinna' have received one [copy]. Bêl-uballiṭ, Babylon, month of Ayaru, day the thirteenth, year the tenth of Artaxerxes king of lands. work of They have paid; work

Nabû-ittannu lets the contract for the making of some kind of a vessel, the workman to receive 3 shekels of silver a month. L. 3: nadie, inf. of nadû, completing, doing (lit. putting down). Dullu: cf. *BA*, I, 509. namzītum = vessel of some kind (root *NTZ*), Mischkrug(?). Cf. Strassmaier, *Nb*, 761, 6 (namzû siparri) and Peiser, *BV*, p. 287, 1, II. (Rev.) L. 2: ašar = in case, if. L. 3: ^amēl^lmûdû(?): Is this "the one who knows," hence "expert workman," "craftsman"? L. 5: the full expression is išten šaṭari ilkû = have taken one copy of the contract. Cf. the parallel instance in *BA*, III, p. 477, Bemerkungen. For contract work to metal workers see Luckenbill, *AJSL*, XXIII, 321 f.

RCT, 10

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹mi-šir ša ^mNa-zi ²ultu muḥḫi mi-šir ša ^m ³ša ^{md}Bêl-a-su-u-a ⁴ultu muḥḫi mi-šir ša ^m bu.

TRANSLATION: Boundary of Nazi from the boundary of of Bêl-asûa from the boundary of

This tablet fixes the boundary of a piece of land extending from the property of one man to that of another. Ll. 2 and 4: the only place in these tablets where ultu is written ideographically (TA). For the phrase ultu muḥḫi mišir cf. Strassmaier, *Nb*, 17, 2. L. 3: Bêl-asûa, Bêl is my physician. Cf. Strassmaier, *Dr*, 379, 42.

RCT, 11

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹1 1/2 ma-na 6 šiḫlu kaspi ši-mi ²ši-en-nu makkûru ^dNin-ib ³ša ^{alu}Bit-za-an-ḫi mu-bi ⁴ša ina kâtâ ^mTa-nit-tum ⁵ en-šu-nu zer-la- ⁶ tum ^dBêl ⁷ m

TRANSLATION: 1 1/2 minas, 6 shekels of silver the price of the small cattle, the property of Nin-ib of the city Bit-zanḫi . . . which by the hands of Tanittum their(?) Bel

The purchase of small cattle(?) belonging to the temple of Ninib is here recorded. L. 2: ṣi-en-nu = ṣi-ē-nu(?). The context seems to point to such an interpretation. L. 3: Bit-zanḫi. Where? It was perhaps in a territory sacred to Ninib.

RCT, 12 (A and B)

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹. . . . 2 1/2 ma-na si(?) . . .
²al^uKūtu ša m^dNabū-aḫē^pl-iddina(-na) ³māri-šu ša m^dŠu-la-a
mār m^E-gi-bi 'i-na ḫatā m^Zēri-ia māri-šu ša m^dNergal-ubal-
liṭ(-iṭ) ⁵mār m^Sag-di-di a-na ka-si-ia(?) ḫu 'i-ša-mu-
ma i-na a-di u-šu su-ma ⁷. iḫ-ka-ba u ar-ki 1/3
ma-na kaspi ⁸a-na Zēri-ia id-di-nu-ma ri-ḫi-it ⁹maš-ka-nu
iṣ-ba-tu a-di eli ša dup-pi ¹⁰ša zēri ša maḫir umaš-ka-nu-u
i-ḫat-tu-ma (Rev.) ¹Zēri-ia ma ²i-na ša-la-šu
a-na kaspi ul i-na ad-din ³a-na šir-ik-ti ul i-ša-ar-ra-aḫ ⁴u
a-na ri-e-mu-tu ul i-ri-mu ⁵. ḫu-bu-ut-ta-tum a-na
muḫḫi ⁶ul i-di-šu ik- a ⁷Pa-ni m^dBēl-ēṭir(-ir)
m^Kin-zēr m^dNergal-ušallim ⁸m^dBēl-uballiṭ(-iṭ) m^Kin-zēr-
aplu(?) m^Ba-nu-nu am^ol^daianu ⁹m^Ri-mut-Bēl(?) m^Na-di-nu-u
m^dNabū-iddina(-na)(?) m^dNabū-nā'id(?) šar Babiliki
gkan

12(B): Top edge, i-na 3-šu.

Right edge, i-na 3-šu,

Bottom edge, 2 2/3 ma-na kaspi Left edge, 2 2/3 ma-na kaspi

a-di kabti

a-di kabti

10 ma-na

10 ma-na

TRANSLATION: 2 1/2 minas city Kutha of Nabū-aḫē-iddina the son of Šulā the son of Egibi through Zēriya the son of Nergal-uballiṭ the son of Sagdidi for maintenance(?) They shall agree on until and after 1/3 mina of silver to Zēriya they have paid and the rest of the pledge they have taken according to the tablet from the seed which has been received, then they will have completed the pledge. Zēriya in three (payments) for the silver he shall not pay; for a gift he shall not give it, and for a favor he shall not remit it a loan to they shall not renew Before Bēl-ēṭir, Kīn-zēr, Nergal-ušallim, Bēl-uballiṭ, Kīn-zēr-aplu(?), Banunu, the judge, Rīmūt-Bēl(?), Nadinu, Nabū-iddina(?). Nabonidus king of Babylon the ninth.

12(B) (edges): In three payments(?). 2 2/3 minas of silver for

. 10 minas.

Nabû-aḫē-iddina through his agent Zēriya has placed a loan for the purchase of food supplies(?). The loan is to be paid to Zēriya in money and kind. L. 2: Kūtu; cf. Strassmaier, *Nb*, 47, rev. 13. Nabû-aḫē-iddin a/š Šulā a/ Egibi is well known in the reigns of Nebuchadrezzar, Evil-Merodach and Nabonidus. Cf. Tallqvist, *NV*. L. 5: ka-si-ia(?)=maintenance, root כסא. Cf. *Nb*, 269, 3, where this meaning seems to be clear. L. 6: išamuma, present tense. L. 7: iḫaba, the imperfect context renders it uncertain whether this is a complete word (ḫebû =speak), or only the last part of another word. L. 9: adi eli =according to; cf. *Nb*, 17, 3. L. 10: iḫatuma=pay up in full, completely satisfy; root חקא. (Rev.) L. 2: the debtor appears to be the subject of ināddin while the creditor is the subject of the verbs in the next two lines. The force of the lines seems to be: This is a strictly business transaction; the debtor is not to pay his debt in a succession of small amounts, nor shall the creditor cancel the obligation because of a particular friendship for the debtor. L. 5: ḫubuttatum=loan without interest; cf. Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, 117, and *ZA*, VI, 444. L. 10: the reading of the king's name is uncertain. For the duplicate text (12, B) see the comment on RCT, 22. Ina šalašu on the edge may refer to three payments.

RCT, 13

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹ li ² šīmu
eḫli-šu kaspi . . . ³ gu-ub-ba-a(?) ul i-ši . . . ⁴ . . . meš
ki-im-tum ni-su-tum u sa-la-tum . . . (Rev.) ¹ amēl
a-si-i ša i-ra-ag-gu- . . . ² . . . ma eḫli šu-a-tim ul na-di-in
. . . ³ . . . ul ma-ḫi-ir amēl pa-kir-ra-nu kaspi
ta-a-an.

TRANSLATION: the price of his field (in) silver . . .
. (?) . . . there is not (they) shall not complain,
whatever family, male and female members
. . . . the physician who shall complain "that field is not
given is not received," he is a plaintiff. The money . . .
.

This tablet has reference to complaint proceedings against the sale of a field. L. 5: nisutum u salatum=male and

female; cf. Tallqvist, *NN*. (Rev.) This is a portion of the regular formula for complaint. Cf. Tallqvist under ^{amēl}pakirra^{nu}.

RCT, 14

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹ . . . KAK bi-ri-ḫu ². KAK bi-ri-ḫu
³. . . KAK bi-ri-ḫu ⁴. . . KAK bi-ri-ḫu ⁵. . . KAK bi-ri-ḫu
⁶. . . KAK bi-ri-ḫu ⁷. . . KAK bi-ri-ḫu.

The text is too fragmentary to warrant any translation.

Because of the seven repetitions of these signs one might expect this fragment to be a portion of a charm or incantation text; but it seems to be rather a portion of a syllabary. Its meaning is uncertain.

RCT, 15

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹ kaspi[šīmi] . . . ²amītu gal-lat ša mSu- ³mArdi-ia apil-šu ša m. 'apil mÊpeš(-eš)-ili(?) . . . ⁴E-sag-ila ⁵a-na makkûru [E-sag-ila] . . . (Rev.) ¹amēlmu-kin-nu ²apil-šu ša mdMarduk- ³mdNabû-bu-un-šu-tur 'apil amēlšangu Gula mBa- ⁴mṬabi-ia apil mKa-za(?) mIddin-^dNabu apil-šu ša Bābīlīki arab. mdNabû-nā'id [šar Bābīlīki]. (Side) aban kunukku mZēri-ia amēlša-tam(-mu) E-sag-ila.

TRANSLATION: silver the price of . . . the slave of Su- . . . Ardiya the son of the son of Êpeš-ili . . . Esagila for the property of Esagila Witnesses: the son of Marduk Nabu-bûn-šûtur the son of the priest of Gula, Ba Ṭabiya the son of Ka-za(?) . . . , Iddin-Nabû the son of Babylon month Nabû-nā'id, king of Babylon. (Side) Seal of Zēriya the store-keeper of Esagila.

A slave sale or purchase is here recorded. L. 2: one would expect ^{šal}gallat (*Nb*, 253, 6); but cf. *Nb*, 682 and *KB*, IV, 244, 43, 1. Rev. l. 3: on the name Nabû-bûn-šûtur cf. Tallqvist, *NN*. Edge, ^{amēl}šatam: Tallqvist is not sure of the meaning. The šutammu was the storehouse; cf. *Nb*, 648, 12; 168, 2; 550, 3, etc. There was not only a royal storehouse but apparently a storehouse for each temple.* The ^{amēl}šatam was not a judge (*Richter*; cf. Peiser in the places cited in *KB*, in the footnote), but the keeper of the storehouse. Cf. Johns,

* For additional evidence of this fact cf. *KB*, IV, 172, No. II, 27, and 224, No. II.

ADD (local governor), and especially Godbey, *Notes on Some Officials of the Sargonid Period*, p. 33 note.

RCT, 16

TRANSLITERATION: ga-lu-u e(?) -kur-gal
. i Ea-iddina(-na) (?) se a-zi-bi(?) -di(?)

TRANSLATION: . . . (?) . . . (?) . . Ea-iddina . . grain(?) . . (?)

L. 1: . . . galuu. Reading uncertain; the first sign may not be ga. L. 2: KUR GAL is šadû rabû; when preceded by the determinative for deity it is Bêl. It is not possible to tell what the first sign is; it may be E(bitu)—but no such temple is known.

RCT, 17

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹. šiklu kaspi . . . ². i-? ? . . .
. ša m^dŠamaš-zêr-ibni . . . ³. ku-tum . . . ⁴. 9
. (Rev.) ¹m^dNabû-kudurru-ušur ²šar Babili[ki].

TRANSLATION: shekels of silver ? of Šamaš-zêr-ibni ? 9 Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.

So little of the tablet remains that it is impossible to make out its contents. It is one of the collection, however, that bears the name of the king under whom it was dated, viz., Nebuchadrezzar. The name, Šamaš-zêr-ibni, is known on several contracts of the time of Nebuchadrezzar. Cf. Tallqvist, *VN*, under same.

RCT, 18

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹2 ma-na kaspi ši-mi
². bi(?) ³apil m^dIddin- ^dMarduk ša,
. [mⁱIkīša]-a apil m^dNûr- ^dŠamaš ⁴. šattu 8-kan
m^dNabû-na'id šar māti ⁵. an-nu ša eli ki-it ša
⁶. tum?? a-na muḫḫi(?) iṣ-ku-nu-ma ⁷m^dBêl-ili-šu
. e-di-ru ⁸la i-ši Ku- tum a-na m^dIddin-
^dMarduk ⁹ik-bi um-ma kaspi a-na e-di-ri-it ¹⁰la i-ši m^dNûr-
^dŠamaš u m^dZêr- (Rev.) ¹amel mu-kin-nu m^dMu-ra-nu
mari-šu ša m^dMarduk-šum-ibni ²apil m^dE-gi-bi m^dMarduk-
zêr(?) -ibni? mar m^dMu-ra-nu ³apil m^dE-gi-bi m^dNabû-apil-
iddin apil-šu ša m^dNabû-muballit(-it) ⁴apil m^dBêl-e-ṭe-ru
m^dNabû-ku-šur-šu apil-šu ša ⁵m^dMu-ra-šu-u apil m^dPap-pa-
a-a m^dLib-luṭ apil-šu ša ⁶m^dItti- ^dMarduk-balātu apil m^dE-gi-
bi m^dBêl-it-tan-nu ⁷amel dup-šar mārū ša mⁱIkīša- ^dMarduk

apil mKalbi- dNannar *Babiliki arabUlûlu ūmu 25^{kan} šattu
18^{kan} 9mDa-ri-ia-muš šar Babiliki šar mātati.

TRANSLATION: 2 minas of silver the price (officer)
. . . . the son of Iddin-Marduk Iḫša the son of Nûr-Šamaš
. year the eighth of Nabonidus the king of the land
which at the end of against (the same) they shall fix. Bêl-
ilišu receipt (payment) there is not. (So and so)(?) to
Iddin-Marduk spoke as follows: "Money for the payment there is not.
Nur-Šamaš and Zêr- Witnesses: Mûrānu, the son of Marduk-
šum-ibni, the son of Egibi, Marduk-Zêr(?)-ibni(?), the son of Mûrānu, the
son of Egibi, Nabû-apil-iddin, the son of Nabû-muballiṭ, the son of Bêl-
eṭêru, Nabû-kušûršu, the son of Murašû, the son of Pappaya, Libluṭ, the
son of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, the son of Egibi, Bêl-ittannu, the scribe, the
son of Iḫša-Marduk, the son of Kalbi-Nannar. Babylon, month Ulûlu,
day the twenty-fifth, year the eighteenth of Darius, king of Babylon, king
of lands.

The obverse is too badly broken to reveal the contents and the
nature of the transaction. There seems to have been a sale in the
time of Nabonidus and now in the reign of Darius there is some
attempt at a settlement. For tablets of this period cf. Hilprecht
and Clay, *BE*, series A, IX and X. (Rev.) l. 5: Pappaya; for
this name cf. Tallqvist, *NN*.

RCT, 19

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹. ². . . . šarru ina eli
mŠāpik-zêr ³[apil-šu ša mDu-um-mu]-ku apil mZêr-ibni ina
ki-it arabDu-ûzu ⁴. . . . ma-na 6 1/3 šiklu kaspi bit-ka i-nam-
din ⁵. . . . Nabû-it-ti-ia amēl alu Ḫi-li-ik-ka-a ⁶. . . . a-na mId-
din- dNabû apil-šu ša mBu-na-nu apil mLi'êa ⁷. . . . mIddin-
Nabû a-na mŠākin- dNabû i-šal-lim ⁸. . . . id-di-nu u mŠāpik-
zêr apil-šu ša mDu-um-mu-ku ⁹apil(?) mZêr-ibni apil-šu ša
mŠil-la-a apil amēl rab-bāni ¹⁰tu ša mNabû-it-ti-ia
amēl gal-la (Rev.; badly broken) ¹. i-šal-lim ². . . .
. . . . i-šal-lim id-di-nu ³. apil-šu ša mBêl-aḫēpl-id-
din ⁴. -mušallim apil m dSin-balāṭu-a-šī ⁵. . . . aḫēpl-
mušallim E-babbara(-ra) ⁶. . . . m dNa-na-a
mIddina- dBêl ⁷. . . . dMarduk apil amēl šangû* dAdad m dŠa-
maš-zêr-ikīša ⁸. apil m dSin-balāṭu-a-šī ⁹. ša
m dBêl- ¹⁰. tum

TRANSLATION: king(?) against Šāpik-zêr
the son of Dummuku the son of Zêr-ibni. At the end of the month

*Written E-BAR.

Du'ûzu minas 6 1/3 shekels of silver, halved, he shall pay
 Nabû-ittiya, the Cilician to Iddin-Nabu, the son of
 Bunanu, the son of Li'ea Iddin-Nabû to Šakin-Nabû will make
 good (they) have paid and Šapik-zêr, the son of Dummuku,
 son(?) of Zêr-ibni, the son of Šilla, the son of the master-builder
 of Nabû-ittiya the slave. (Rev.) (he) will make good
 (he) will make good (the debt) paying (it) the son of Bêl-aḫē-
 iddin -mušallim, the son of Sin-balaṭu-a-ši -aḫē-mušal-
 lim Ebabbara Nana Iddin-Bel -Mar-
 duk, the son of the priest of Adad, Šamaš-zêr-ikiša the son
 of Sin-balaṭu-a-ši . . . of Bêl

Šapik-zêr for a loan or a debt owes some silver. L. 4: bitka;
 cf. BA, I, 516, note 2, and Peiser, BV, 229. L. 5: ^{amēl}alūḫi-
 likaia=Cilician. For the so-called gentilic ending cf. Delitzsch,
Assyrische Grammatik, pp. 55 f. For Ḫilakku see Delitzsch,
Wo lag das Paradies, pp. 245, 249, 288. L. 10: ^{amēl}rab-bāni
 =chief architect. (Rev.) l. 2: for the writing iṭṭiru cf. Nb,
 356, 17, and 764, 13. L. 7: E-BAR=šangu. Cf. BA, I, p. 279,
 where Jeremiah reads E-MAŠ; this reading is shown to be incorrect
 by Scheil, *Rec. Trav.* XVIII, 33, No. XII, face ii, 3, where the
 word is written phonetically é-ba-ar. Ll. 4 and 8: Sin-balaṭu-
 a-ši. It is difficult to tell what the reading of a-ši should be.

RCT, 20(A)

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹. . . ma-na . . . šiklu kaspi bit-ka(?)
 ². . . nu ša ^mMu-še-zib-tum apil ^mNâru(ru)-ra-am(?)
 ina muḫḫi ^{3m}Ši-iš-ku apil-šu ša ^mIddin-apli mâr ^mE-gi-bi
^{4f}Mu-še-zib-tum u ^fNa-ru-u ^{amēl}la-(mu)-ta-ni-šu ^{5el}(?)
 tum ša ^fMu-še-zib-tum a-na šum ^mIddin-apli ad- ⁶. . .
 . . . tum u el-tum ša ^fNa-ru-u ^{7a}-na šum ša ^mŠi-iš-ku šaṭ-ra-
 tum maš-ka-nu ša ^mMu-še-zib-(tum) ⁸ⁱ-di ^{amēl}a-me-lut-tum
 ia-a-nū ḫubullu kaspi ia-a-nu ^{9amēl}rašū ša-nam-ma a-na
 muḫḫi i(?) -ra-gam-mu-ma ^{10a}-na muḫḫi ša ^mMu-še-zib kas-
 pa'a 2 ma-na . . . šiklu kaspi ^{11maḫ}(?) -ri-tu ša bit-ka
 ia-(?) -nu mahir(?) ¹². . . . i-tam-ku(?) (Rev.)
^{1md}Marduk-na(?) -šir(?) apil-šu ša ^mItti-^dMarduk-balaṭu ²ⁱ-na
 ḫu-ud lib-bi-šu a-na ⁴. . . . la-šu a-na la-ma-a-du
^{amēl}mu-u-tu ^{4m}Itti-ia u 3 arḫē^{pl}-a-na ^{5m}Gu-za-
 nu mârū ša ^mḪa-am-ba-ku mâr ^{amēl}. tu ^{6id}-din ^{amēl}mu-
 u-tu dul-lu . . . na-šu ga ^{7ki}-i ul-tam-mi-du-šu it-ta-
 ad-din ^{md}Marduk-(na)(?) -šir(?) ^{8a}-na ^mGu-za-nu i-nam-
 din ki-i la ul-tam-mi-du ^{9I}šattu 3 ka še-bar man-da-at ša

^mItti-^dMarduk-balaṭu ¹⁰^mGu-za-nu a-na ^mdMarduk-na-ṣir(?)
 ¹¹^mItti-^dMarduk-balaṭu(?) išten(ta-a-an) ṣa-ṭa-ri.
 (Top edge) ṣattu I^{kan}, etc. (Right edge) ṣattu I^{kan}, etc. (Bottom
 edge) kaspā'a(?), etc. (Left edge) kaspā'a(?), etc.

TRANSLATION: . . . minas . . . shekels of silver, halved, . . .
 . . . of Mušēzibtum, the son of Nūriram(?) against Šišku, the son of
 Iddin-apli, the son of Egibi Mušēzibtum and Narū, his female
 slaves The contract(?) of Mušēzibtum in the name of Iddin-apli
 and the contract(?) of Narū in the name of Šišku
 is written, as a pledge of Mušēzibtum. A mortgage on the slaves there
 is not; interest on the money there shall not be. Another creditor shall
 make his claim therefor and because of the fact that Mušēzib the money,
 2 minas . . . shekels of silver, formerly(?) received . . (Rev.)
 Marduk-naṣir(?), the son of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, willingly to
 for teaching. The servant Ittiya and 3 months to
 Guzanu the son of Ḥambaḳu, the son of the he gave; the servant
 the work If he teaches him he shall pay Marduk-
 naṣir(?) to Guzanu will pay; (but) if he does not teach him for each year
 3 ḳa of grain, the tribute of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, Guzanu to Marduk-
 naṣir(?) (shall pay). Itti-Marduk-balaṭu one copy (shall take). (Top
 edge) First year. (Right edge) First year. (Bottom edge) Silver, etc.
 (Left edge) Silver, etc.

This tablet deals with the sale of two female slaves, Mušēzib-
 tum and Narū. The owner bears the name Mušēzibtum (ll. 2 and 7)
 and sells to Šišku. It seems that one of these slaves, Mušēzibtum,
 is deeded over to the father of Šišku, viz., Iddin-apli. The transac-
 tion calls for "no mortgage and no interest on the money." The
 reverse, however, deals with a different case. Marduk-naṣir(?), the
 son of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, is apprenticed to Guzanu to learn a trade.
 In case he learns the trade Guzanu will be remunerated; but if
 he does not learn it then Guzanu must pay the father 3 ḳa of
 grain a year. There is a duplicate of this tablet (20 B), whose
 reverse is badly broken but seems to contain the list of witnesses
 to the obverse, which is the same as the obverse of 20 A. For
 further discussion see notes on RCT, 22. L. 2: the name Nūru
 (-ru)-ram may not be read correctly. L. 4: ^{amēl} lamutanišu;
 cf. BA, I, 497, and especially the note on the use of the word in
 Tallqvist, NN. el-tum probably means contract; cf. Lex. L. 7:
 ṣaṭratum is pm. L. 8: idi; cf. BA, I, 517. ^{amēl}ūtum is an
 abstract collective noun (*Menschheit*). (Rev.) l. 3: ^{amēl}mu-utu

denotes some kind of service; cf. *Nb.* 336, 4 and 780, 4. L. 6: cf. *BA*, I, p. 509. L. 7: *ki-i*=in case. *ultammidu* is III, (*uštalmid*=*ultalmid*=*ultammid*). Cf. Delitzsch, *AG*², 128. L. 9: *ŠE-BAR*; cf. *BA*, I, 515. L. 11: cf. *BA*, III, 466, No. 15; 477, No. 27; and *Nb.* 760, 25.

RCT, 21

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹*md*Marduk-iḫšā-an-ni *amēl*ša-na-nu-u ša ^{alu}Ša-ḥa-ri-nu apil-šu ša *m*Ardi-ia-a ²*niš* *d*Bēl *d*Nabû u *m*Da-ri-ia-muš šarri a-na *md*Nabû-aḥē^{pt}-bul-liṭ ³*mari*-šu ša *m*Itti-Marduk-balaṭu mār *m*E-gi-bi it-te-me ⁴*a*-ki-i a-di-i ūmu 26^{kan} ša arab *Simānu* ša šattu 14^{kan} *m*Da-ri-ia-muš ⁵šar Babiliki ri(?) tum(?) . . . ma a-na as(?) . . . ka(?) ⁶ša ^{alu}Babiliki ūmu 13(?)^{kan} arab *Nisannu* ša šattu 14^{kan} ⁷*m*Da-ri-ia-muš šarri . . . mu-ti šu e-na-nu ⁸ik-ba-a um-ma ab-ḫam-ma(?)a-na ⁹*md*Nabû-aḥē^{pt}-bul-liṭ u ḥa(?) . . ar(?) . . . as-su ¹⁰. u . . ta(?)an-na^{amēl} ir-ru-u-tu ¹¹. *md*Nabû-aḥē^{pt}-bul-liṭ nu (Rev.) ¹. ar e-si-sib(?) . . . ma a-na *md*Nabû-aḥē-bul-liṭ ². *md*Marduk-iḫšā-an-ni ina Bēl šarri it-te-me ³ki-i a-na nu kab *amēl* mu-kin-nu U-bar apil-šu ša ⁴*md*Marduk-ēṭir mār *m*Lib-luṭ apil-šu ša *m*Zēri-ia ⁵apil *m*E-di-ru apil-šu ša *md*Nabû-zēr-iddin apil *m*La-a-ba-ši ⁶*md*Nabû-iddin apil-šu ša *md*Nabû-bul-liṭ-su apil-šu ša *m*Iddin-*d*Nabû ⁷*m*Di-di-ia apil-šu ša *m*La-a-ba-ši *md*Nabû ḥa ⁸apil-šu ša *md*Bēl-iddin apil *m*Nūr-ilāni tum apil-šu ša *md*Nabû-ka-šir ⁹apil^m *amēl* paḥḥaru *md*Šamaš-iddin apil-šu ša *m*Ki-na-a mār *md*Ea-na(?)-šir(?) ¹⁰*md*Adar-iddin apil-šu ša *m*Kal-ba-a *amēl* šangu *d*Marduk ¹¹*md*Bēl-aḥē^{pt}-iddin apil-šu ša *md*Nabû-KU(?)^{lišir} apil Mu-še-zib-*d*Nabû(?) ¹²*m*Iddin-*d*Bēl apil-šu ša *m*Šamaš-bulliṭ-su apil *md*Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḫ-bi.

TRANSLATION: Marduk-iḫšānni the second officer of Šaharin, the son of Ardiya, in the name of Bēl, Nabû, and Darius, the king, unto Nabû-aḥē-bulliṭ, the son of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, the son of Egibi, swore as follows: "To the 26th day of the month Simānu of the fourteenth year of Darius king of Babylon to of the city Babylon the thirteenth(?) day of the month Nisannu of the fourteenth year of Darius the king his(?) . . . at that time he spoke as follows ? . . . to Nabû-aḥē-bulliṭ (Rev.) to Nabû-aḥē-bulliṭ Marduk-iḫšānni by(?) Bēl (and) the king swore according to Witnesses: Ubar, the son of Marduk-ēṭir, the son

of, Libluš, the son of Zēriya, the son of Ediru, the son of Nabû-zēr-iddin, the son of Lābāsi, Nabû-iddin, the son of Nabû-bulliṭ, the son of Iddin-Nabû, Didiya, the son of Lābāshi, Nabû- . . . ha the son of Bēl-iddin, the son of Nūr-ilāni, the son of Nabû-kašir, the son of the potter, Šamaš-iddin, the son of Kīnā, the son of Ea-nāšir(?), Adar-iddin, the son of Kalbā, the priest of Marduk, Bēl-aḫē-iddin, the son of Nabû-KU-lišir, the son of Mušēzib-Nabû, Iddin-Bēl, the son of Šamaš-bulliṭsu, the son of Nabû-balaṭsu-iḫbi.

Marduk-iḫšanni takes an oath in the name of Bēl, Nabû, and the reigning king, Darius, to Nabû-aḫē-bulliṭ. The next lines are too mutilated to tell his words. L. 1: ^{amēl}šananû = the second officer (administrative). ^{alu}Šaḫarinu. Usually written Šaḫ-ri-in (Šaḫ-ri-ni, Šaḫ-ri-in-nu). L. 2: the first sign seems to be zī; it is the same zī that occurs so often in the incantations—ZĪ AN-NA HE-PA (in the name of heaven be thou cursed, etc.); cf. Thompson, *Devils*, *passim*. L. 8: the verb baḫāmu (pluck out) does not suit the context; abḫamma is probably the last part of an incomplete word. L. 10: ^{amēl}irrātu. Delitzsch (*HWB*) recognizes four forms of arāru (ארר)—(1) curse, (2) bind, (3) burn, (4) tremble; from (2) there is a noun formation, irru = fetter, sling, rope. Can irrātu be a formation from this? ^{amēl}irrātu would then probably be a trapper, a slinger. (Cf. arru [*HWB*] = Vogelfaenger). There is no context to help determine the meaning. Rev. l. 9: ^{amēl}paḫḫaru (DUK-KA-BUR) = potter. Cf. Peiser, *BV*, p. 248 and Pinches, *PSBA*, XXIII, 204, 9–10. Aramaic, ܐܪܪܐ.

RCT, 21 (B, C, and D)

21, B: (upper edge) šattu 10, šattu 10, etc.; (lower edge) same as upper edge. 21, C: (upper edge) šattu 10, šattu 10, etc.; (lower edge) ^mKabti-ilāni-^dBēl dup-šar. 21, D: 2 2/3 ma-na 7 šiklu(?) a-di kabti 10 ma-na; (right edge) i-na 3-šu, etc. 21, B: (upper and lower edges) tenth year. 21, C: (upper edge) tenth year; (lower edge) ^mKabti-ilāni-^dBēl(?) scribe. 21, D: (upper edge) 2 2/3 minas 7 shekels(?) for 10 minas; (right edge) in three payments(?).

RCT, 22 (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H)

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹Sik-ku-u ^{md}Nabû-it-tan-nu ^mLib-lu-ṭu ^{amēl}ātum ²ša ^mItti-^dMarduk-balaṭu ^māru ša ^{md}Bēl-

aḫe^l-iddin mār mE-gi-bi ¹a-na 3 1/2 ma-na kaspi a-na šmi gam-ru-tu ina ḫati ⁴mdNabû-iḫīša mārī-šu ša mŠe-il-li-bi mār amelabu bitī ⁵u mdBēl-ki-šīr mārū ša mŠu-la-a mār mE-gi-bi ⁶amelrē'u(?) ša mdNabû-iḫīša i-bu-ku u i-na lib-bi iṣ-ṭu-ru ⁷um-ma 2 ma-na 10 šiklu kaspi šmi ⁸Sik-ku-u u mLib-lu-(ṭu) ⁹mdNabû-iḫīša i-liḫ-ḫi 1 1/3 ma-na kaspi šmi mdNabû-it-tan-nu ¹⁰mdBēl-ki-šīr i-liḫ-ḫi ar-ki mdBēl-ki-šīr it-ti ¹¹mdNabû-iḫīša a-na eli šmi mdNabû-it-tan-nu (Rev.) ¹²it-ti 2 ma-na 10 šiklu ba-ab-ti 3 1/2 ma-na kaspi ¹³šmi ¹⁴Sik-ku-u mdNabû-it-tan-nu u mLib-lu-ṭu ¹⁵mdNabû-iḫīša il-te-ḫi a-di-i u-il-tim ša šmi gam-ru-tu ¹⁶mdBēl-ki-šīr u mdNabû-iḫīša ša pu-ut uš-ku-tu aḫu-tum ¹⁷išten pu-ut šanf(i)-na-šu-u amelmu-kin-nu mdBēl-u-dam-mi-iḫ ¹⁸mārū ša mdBēl-aḫe^l-iddin mār mE-gi-bi mdBēl-ib-ni mārī-šu ša ¹⁹mIddina(-na)-²⁰dNabû mār amel ba'ru mdNabû-tab-ni-uṣur mārī-šu ša ²¹mRi-mu-tu mār amel rē'u mṬabi-ia mārī-šu ša ²²mdŠamaš-erba(-ba) mār amel išparu dEa mdNabû-tab-ta-ni-uṣur ²³amelšangu mārī-šu ša mKit-ti-ia mār amel išparu dEa ²⁴Babiliki arabKislimu ūmu 21^{kan} šattu 5^{kan}.

(Edges): 22, A: (bottom) mKabti-ilāni- dBēl(?) dup-šar, mKabti-ilāni- dBēl(?) dup-šar. 22, C: (bottom) mBalāṭi-ilāni mi mBa- a , i-na 3-šu i-na 3-šu i-na 3-šu, mBalāṭi-ilāni mi mBa- a ; (left) i-na 3-šu i-na 3-šu i-na 3-šu i-na 3-šu. 22, D: mBalāṭi-ilāni mZēr-lišir, etc. 22, E: . . ? . . . na 1 nu(?), etc. 22, F: ? . na 1 nu(?), etc. 22, G: (top) ka-tim . . . na 1 nu ka-tim . . . na 1 nu; (right) ka-tim; (bottom) ka-tim ka-tim mBalāṭi-ilāni mZēr-lišir ka-tim; (left) . . . na 1 nu. 22, H: (top) mMarduk-nāšir apil-šu ša; (right) ka-tim; (bottom) ; (left)

TRANSLATION: Sikku, Nabû-ittannu and Liblûṭu, the slave property which Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, the son of Bēl-aḫē-iddin, the son of Egibi; for 3 1/2 minas of silver as a complete price, through the agency of Nabû-iḫīša, the son of Šēlibi, the son of the major domus and Bēl-kišir, the son of Šulā, the son of Egibi, the shepherd of Nabû-iḫīša, has received and written concerning as follows: "2 minas 10 shekels of silver the price of Sikku and Liblûṭu Nabû-iḫīša shall receive, 1 1/3 minas of silver the price of Nabû-ittannu Bēl-kišir shall receive. After Bēlkišir along with Nabû-iḫīša, not only the price of Nabû-ittannu but also 2 minas 10 shekels of silver the rest of the 3 1/2 minas of silver, the total price of Sikku Nabû-ittannu and Liblûṭu, that Nabû-iḫīša has received (has received)—then for a receipt of the full price Bēl-kišir and Nabû-iḫīša, acting for the priesthood(?), stand security (one for the other). Witnesses: Bēl-udammik, the son of Bēl-aḫē-iddin, the son of

Egibi, Bēl-ibni, the son of Iddin-Nabû, the son of the fisher, Nabû-tabni-ušur, the son of Rimûtu, the son of the shepherd, Ṭabiya, the son of Šamaš-erba, the son of the weaver of Ea, Nabû-tabtani-ušur, the priest, the son of Kittiya the son of the weaver of Ea. Babylon month Kislimu day the twenty-first year the fifth.

(Edges): 22, A: (bottom) Kabti-ilāni-Bēl scribe, Kabti-ilāni-Bēl scribe. 22, C: (bottom) Balāṭi-ilāni in three payments(?), etc. Balāṭi-ilāni; (left) in three payments(?). 22, D: Balāṭi-ilāni Zēr-lišir.

Libluṭ, Nabû-ittannu, and Sikkû, the slaves of Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, were purchased for $3\frac{1}{2}$ minas of silver by Nabû-iḫša and Bēl-kišir, acting as agents, the price of each slave and its purchaser being specified. The two purchasers stand surety for each other. L. 4: ^{amēl}abu bīti = major domus. Cf. Clay, *BE*, XIV and XV, index of officials. L. 6: ibuku is prt. from 𒂍𒋼 , = receive. (Rev.) l. 1: bābti; cf. *BA*, I, 633. L. 4: uš-KU-TU; cf. *ZA*, I, 426, and Meissner, *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme*, 3456. According to Prince, *SL*, uš = man and KU = important; hence uš-KU = important official. II R, 21, 39, c, explains uš-KU as kalû EME-SAL. The kalû was a priestly functionary. In Pognon, *Bavian*, p. 60, the ^{amēl}uš-KU is mentioned in connection with the ^{amēl}MAŠ-MAŠ as sent to consecrate a canal—a religious function. Whatever the function of the officer, there seems to have been an association of them—uškutu aḫūtum (the reading of the latter may, however, be amēlu-ut-tum instead of aḫūtum). Ll. 9 and 10: išparu; cf. *BA*, I, 496. There are eight duplicates of this tablet; there are no differences or variations in the texts except that 22, H has an erasure of the last half of ll. 4 and 5 of the reverse; but the edges of the different tablets vary considerably—in fact no two are alike in this respect. The same head is observed as the seal-impression on all of them that have seals, but there is always a variation in the number or the position of these heads. There seem to be four possibilities of explanation in regard to these duplicates: (1) The tablets are forgeries. A careful examination of the tablets by three very competent Assyriologists and judges of tablets has convinced them that such is not the case. (2) Duplicates are due to the fact that each con-

tracting party took a copy (išten šaṭari ilteḫi). But at least two difficulties confront this supposition in this case—(a) there would be no demand for so many copies and (b) they would not likely be found in the same place. (3) Duplicates are made to be deposited in the various archives of the administrative and judicial system—as we would send a copy of a document to the county clerk, the secretary of state of the particular state, etc. But the last argument (b) against (2) applies with striking force here. (4) They are practice tablets copied by apprentices in some office or school for the scribes. There must have been much training of this kind before a scribe had mastered the art of writing a faultless legal document. It is such practice in such a school that produced the duplicates we are considering. In the first place the same head is impressed on the duplicates of 12, 18, 20, 21, and 22—perhaps the seal of the scribe who was instructing. Furthermore the same inscription will be found on different tablets, e.g., in a 3-šu (12, B and 21, D) Marduk-nāšir apil-šu ša(?) (22, H [top] and 24, edge), etc. Such marks may indicate some particular individual's work. When such a well-known document as *Nb.* 13 is found reproduced exactly (24) except that the edges differ one is apt to think of practice work. The crowning evidence is furnished by 20 (A and B); 20, B is a regular contract with the business transaction on the obverse and the list of witnesses on the reverse. But 20, A, with the same obverse has as its reverse what should be the obverse of another tablet. This is clearly practice work. That these are practice tablets is further indicated by the fact that while dated (month, day, year, etc.) no king's name appears. The number of duplicates of this tablet found furnishes the most interesting datum about the collection.

RCT, 23

TRANSLITERATION: (Obv.) ¹. bitu ².
 . . . na-nu ³ina ^mLa-ba-ši-^dMarduk 'apil-
 šu ša ^{md}Bēl-ibni apil ^{amēl}ma-ḫi-ra-nu bīti ⁵SAG-AN-TA
^{md}Bēl- ^{amēl}ša-tam-(mu) ⁶SAG-KI-TA ^mLa-ba-ši-
^dMarduk apil-šu ša ^{md}Bēl-ibni apil ^{amēl}ma(?)ḫi-ra-nu
 bīti ⁸ku-um9 ab(?) . . . tu nam ab-tum ⁹ki-i

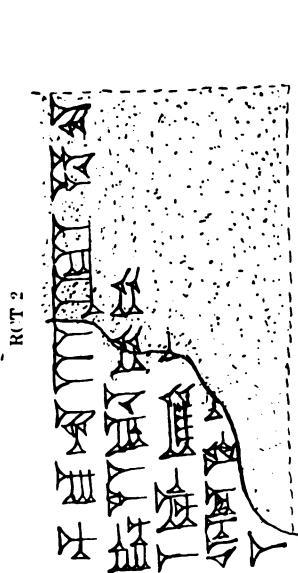
1/3 ma-na 4 šiklu kaspi pišu(u) ¹⁰ nu mLa-ba-ši-d Mar-
duk ¹¹ am¹ nangaru ¹² am¹ (?) ma(?)-bi(?)
-ra(?) -nu apil-šu ša m^d Nabû-[ukîn(-in)] ¹³ apil mNûr-dPap-suk-
kal ma-ḥir im-[ḥur] ¹⁴ i-še(?) -iš a-na šmi ¹⁵ [šiklu]
kaspi (Rev.) ¹ šiklu kaspi ² šmi
biti-šu ki-bi ³ ka ib tu-tum mBi-ba-
⁴ apil-šu ša m^d Nabû-ukîn(-in) apil mNûr-dPap-sukkal ina kâta
⁵ mLa-ba-ši-dMarduk apil-šu ša m^d Bêl-ibni apil am¹ nangaru
⁶ ma-ḥi-ir e-ṭir ⁷ ina ka-nak-ku šu-a-tim ⁸ Pani mU-bar apil-
šu ša m^d Nabû- apilm ilâni ⁹ mIddina(-na)-apli apil-
šu ša m Nap-pa-ḥu apil mKab-(?) -ti-ia ¹⁰ mLa-a-ba-[ši]
apil mIddin-dPap-sukkal ¹¹ m^d Bêl Nabû apil-šu
am¹ nangaru ¹² Nabû apil m^d Nabû-ikîša ¹³
kin za ¹⁴ gam

TRANSLATION: house in
. Labâši-Marduk, the son of Bêl-ibni, the son of the pur-
chaser of the house. The upper side (borders on) Bêl- the store-
keeper, the lower side (borders on) Labâši-Marduk, the son of Bêl-ibni,
the son of the purchaser of the house. Instead of 9
for 1/2 mina 4 shekels of white silver, Labâši-Marduk
. the carpenter . . . the ? the son of Nabû-ukîn, the
son of Nûr-Papsukkal, has received the price . . ? for the price
. shekels of silver (Rev.) shekels of silver
the price of his house (?) ? Biba- the son of
Nabû-ukîn, the son of Nûr-Papsukkal through Labâši-Marduk, the son
of Bêl-ibni, the son of the carpenter, has received and taken (the money).
By this seal. Before Ubar, the son of Nabû- the son of
-ilâni, Iddina-apli, the son of Nappâhu, the son of Kab(?)tiya, Labâši
. the son of Iddin-Papsukkal, Bêl- Nabû, the
son of the carpenter Nabû- the son of Nabû-ikîša
.

The transaction involved is the sale of a house. L. 4: maḥi-
rânu. See *Nb.* 197, 7; 477, 7; *Nbk.* 4, 4; 374, 2. Cf. also
Peiser, *BT*, 137, and *KB*, II, 320-21, No. 2, col. ii, 20. L. 5:
SAG-AN-TA=pûtu(m) elîtu; cf. Prince, *SL*. L. 6: SAG-KI-TA=
pûtu(m) šaplîtu; cf. *ibid.* L. 9: kaspi pišu(u)=white silver;
cf. *Lex.*

RCT, 24

Cf. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, p. 276, and
see comments on RCT, 22.



RCT 2

Obv. 1

5



Rev. 1

Λ Ο Ω

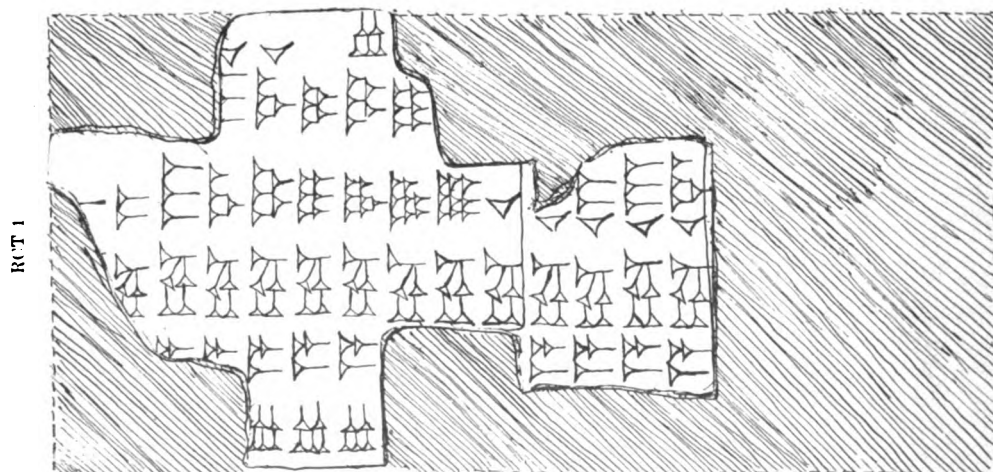
U E



RCT 4

Obv. 1

5



RCT 1

Obv. 1

5

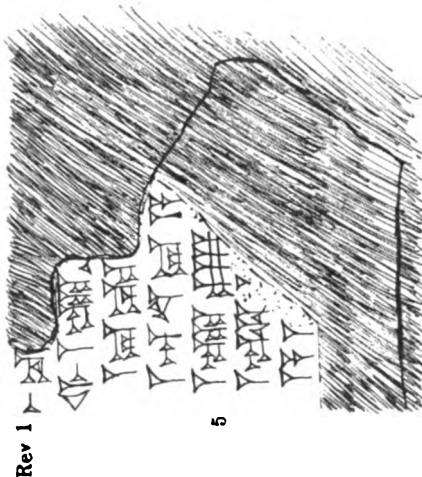
10

Rev. 1

RCT 6

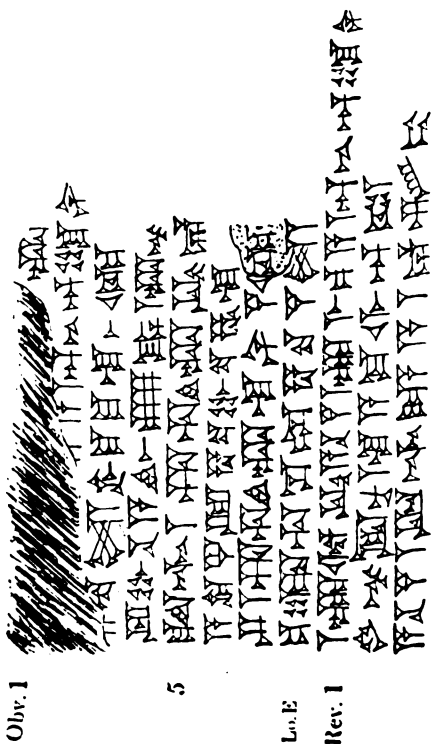


Obv. 1



Rev. 1

RCT 3



Obv. 1

5

Loc. E

Rev. 1



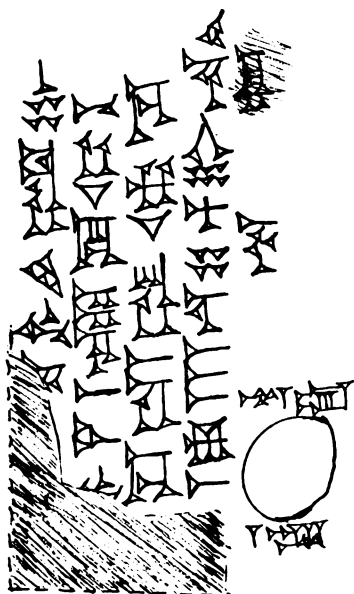
5

RCT 5



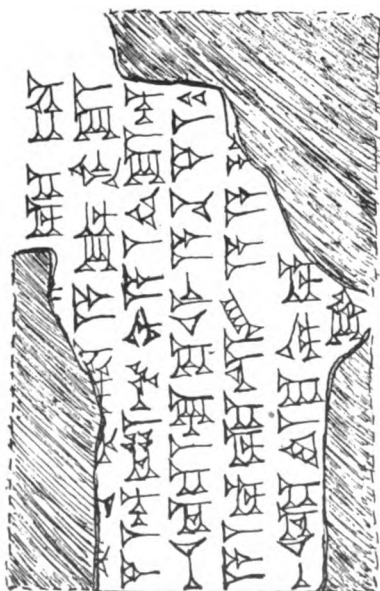
Obv. 1

RCT 8



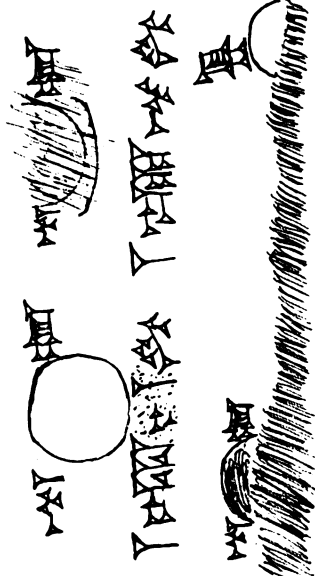
Obv. 1

RCT 7



Obv. 1

5



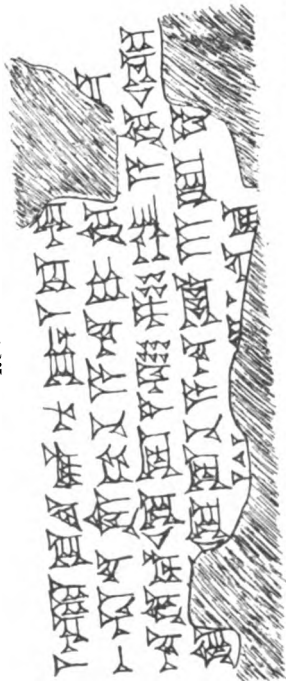
Rev. 1



Rev. 1

5

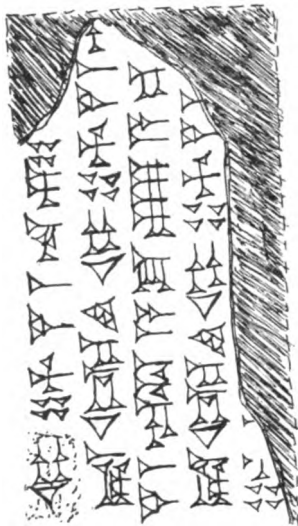
RCT 9



Obv. 1

5

RCT 10



Obv. 1

5

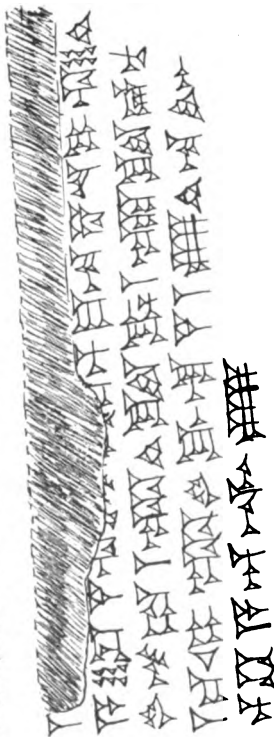
RCT 11



Obv. 1

5

Rev. 1













5

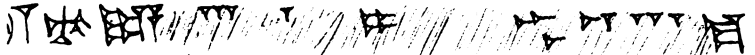


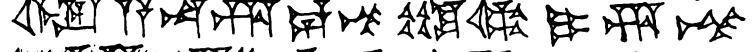

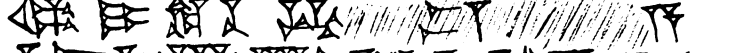






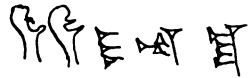
Lo. E.

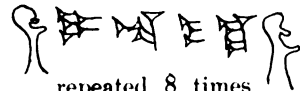


L. E.

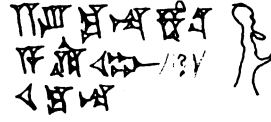

Obv. 1 



5 




10 

Rev. 1 



5 




10 

Lo.E 

U.E. 
 repeated 8 times

R.E. 
 repeated 4 times

Lo.E  

L.E. same as Lo.E

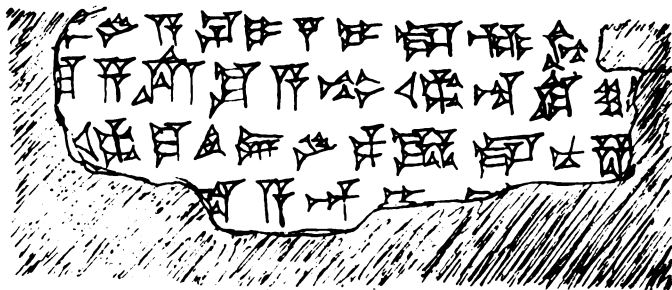
RCT 13

Obv. 1

5



Rev 1



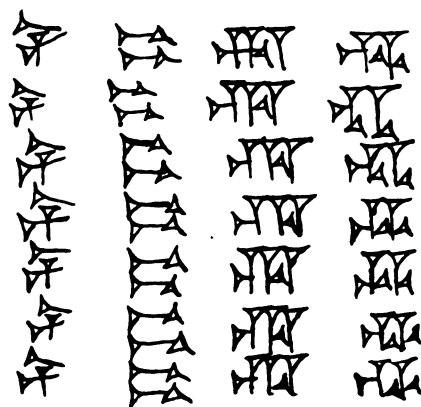
Lo E



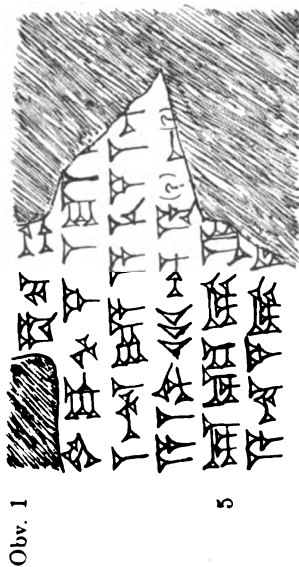
RCT 14

Obv 1

5



RCT 15



RCT 16



RCT 17



RCT 19

Obv. 1

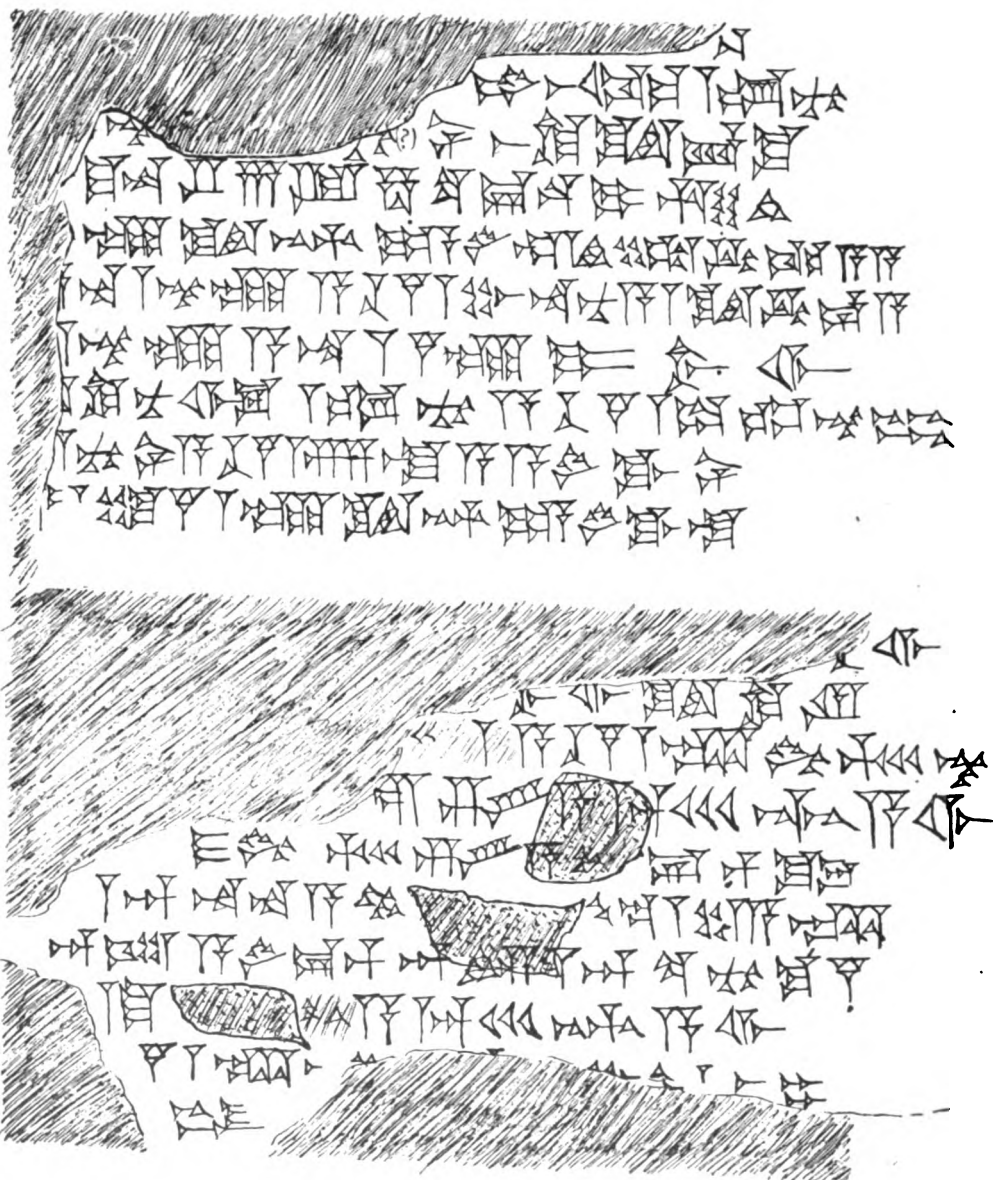
5

10



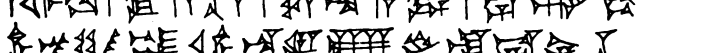

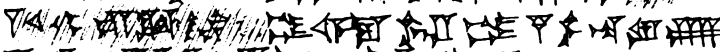


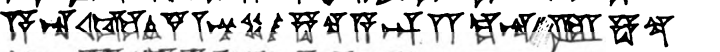


Rev. 1




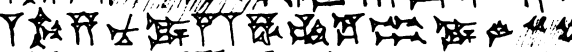




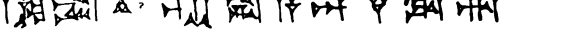

5

10



RCT 20(A)

Obv. 1 



5  omitted by scribe
 omitted by scribe


10 


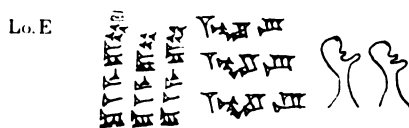
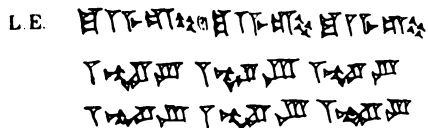
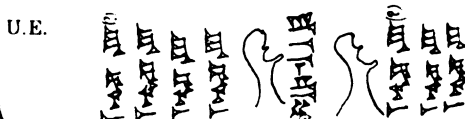
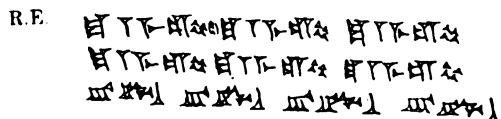
Rev. 1 



5 


 omitted by scribe
10 


RCT 20A (Edges)



RCT 20B

This has the same obverse as 20A; nearly all of the reverse is broken away, but enough is left to see that it is different from the reverse of 20A. It seems to contain a list of witnesses.



Obv. 1

5

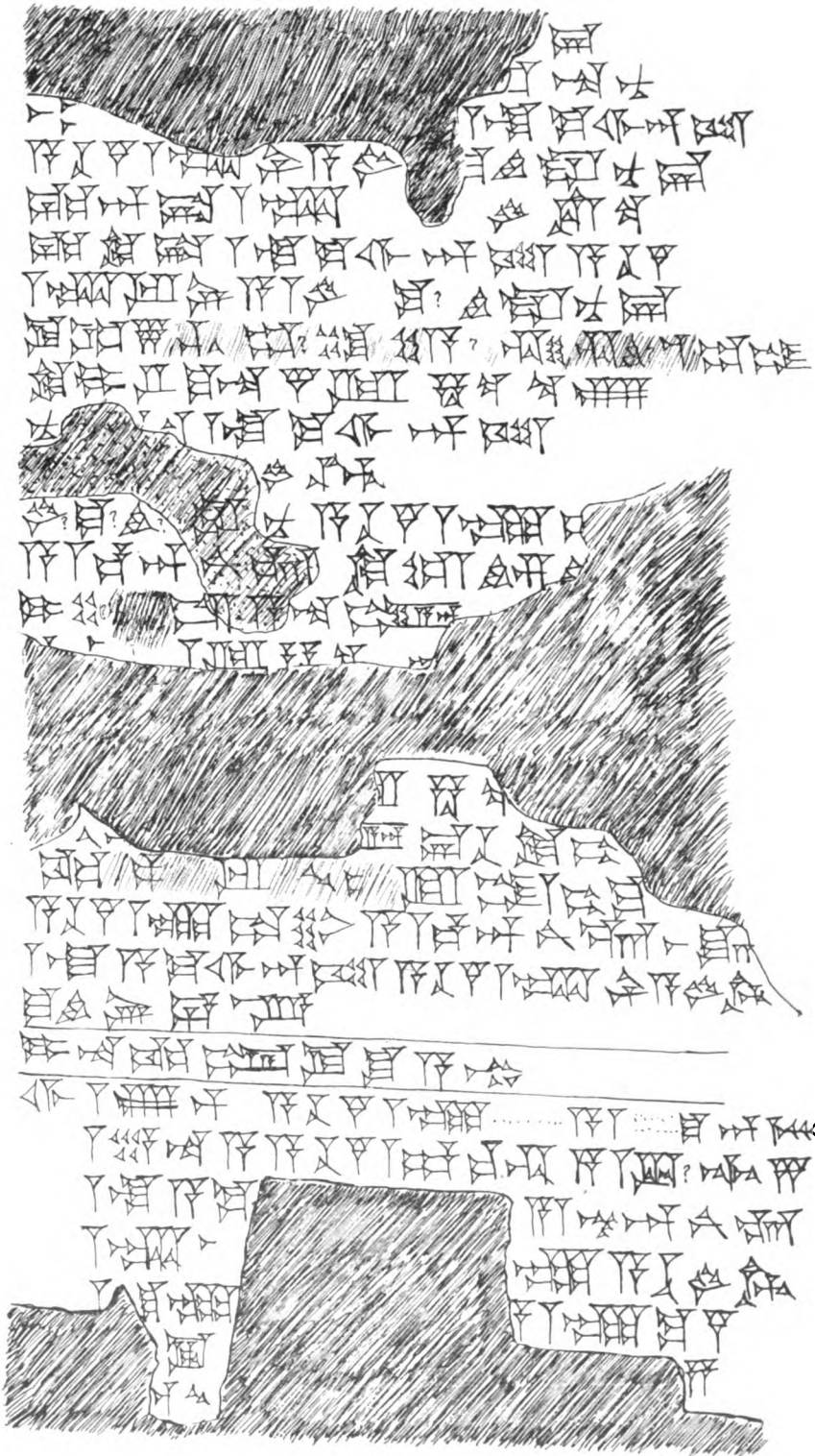
10

15

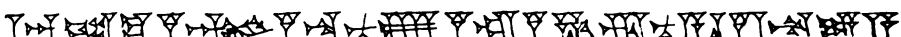
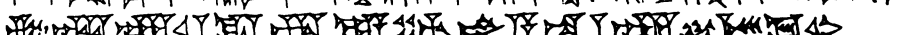






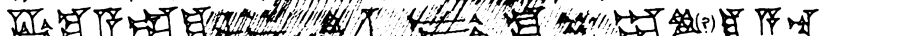

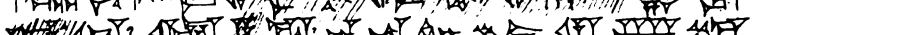

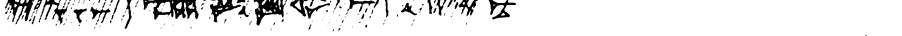
Rev. 1



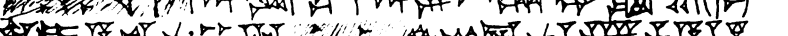





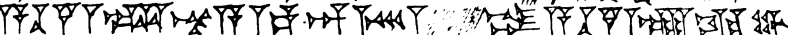
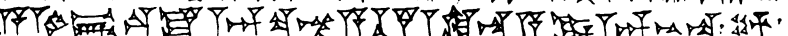




5

10



RCT 21 (A, B, C, D)

Obv. 1 



5 




10 




Rev. 1 



5 





10 




RCT 21 (B, C, and D; Edges)

U.E.



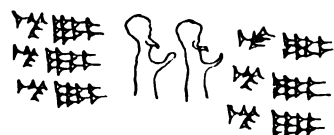
L.E.



Lo.E



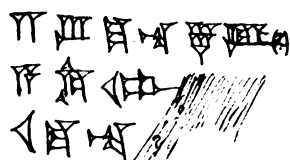
U.E.



Lo.E



U.E.



repeated 3 times

Lo.E



R.E.



repeated 7 times

L.E. Same as U.E.

RCT 22 (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H)

Edges of RCT 22(A)

Obv. 1

5

10

Rev. 1

5

10

3

U.E.

L.E.

Lo. E

增刊

○ ○ ○ ○ ○

RCT 22 (Edges of B, C, D, E, F)

(B) U.E. 

Lo.E. 

(C) U.E. 



Lo.E. 









R.E. 


L.E. 
 repeated 4 times


(D) 


repeated 4 times on Lo.E. and U.E.


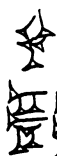




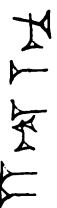
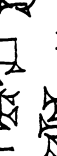


repeated 3 times on L.E. and R.E.

(E) U.E. L.E. 
 K.E. R.E. 

repeated many times

(F) The same as E with the addition of  on Lo.E.

RCT 22 (Edges of G, H)

(G) U.E.		(6 times, but in opposite direction to other lines)		(6 times, but in opposite direction)
		(6 times)		(4 times)
		(6 times)		(4 times)
		(6 times)		(6 times)
L.E.		(4 times)		(4 times)

(H) This has an erasure of the last half of lines 4 and 5 of the reverse

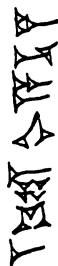
U.E. Indistinct, but seems to have repeated a number of times



Lo.E.  (4 lines of these signs, repeated six times to a line)

R.E.  repeated 3 times L.E.  repeated 3 times

RCT 24 The text, obverse and reverse, is identical with St. Nb. 13; the edges have something different. The signs are almost obliterated, but one can detect that the same thing is repeated time after time around the four edges. Though I am not sure of the reading it seems to be



REGISTER OF PROPER NAMES

- Adar-iddin
 a/š Kalba-a 21 Rev. 10.
 Ardi-ia-a 21, 1.
 Ardi-ia
 a/š a/Ēpeš-ili 15, 3.
 Ar-ša-ka-a 2 Rev. 3.
 Ar-taḫ-ša-as-su 9 edge 2.
- Balat-su
 a/ E-sag-gil-a-a 7, 4.
 Balat-su-Šamaš 7, 3.
 Ba-nu-nu 12 Rev. 8.
 Bēl-aḫē-iddin 19 Rev. 3.
 a/š Nabû-KU-līšir
 a/ Mu-še-zib-Nabû 21 Rev. 11.
 m/ E-gi-bi 22, 2; 22 Rev. 6.
 Bēl-a-su-u-a 10, 3.
 Bēl-erba 4, 2.
 Bēl-e-ṭe-ru 18 Rev. 4.
 Bēl-ēṭir 12 Rev. 7.
 Bēl-ibni 23, 4; 23 Rev. 7.
 m/š Iddina(na)-Nabû 22 Rev. 6.
 Bēl-ib-ni 23, 7.
 Bēl-iddin 3, 4.
 a/ Nūr-ilāni 21 Rev. 8.
 Bēl-ili-šu 18, 7.
 Bēl-it-tan-nu 18 Rev. 6.
 Bēl-itti-ia 5, 3.
 Bēl-ki-šir 22, 9; 22 Rev. 4.
 m/ Šula-a
 m/ E-gi-bi 22, 5.
 Bēl-uballit 9 edge 1; 12 Rev. 8.
 m/ Nabû-it-tan-nu 9 Rev. 3.
 Bēl-u-dam-mi-ik
 m/ Bēl-aḫē-iddin
 m/ E-gi-bi 22 Rev. 5.
 Bēl ušur 8 Rev. 1.
 Bi-ba-
 a/š Nabû-ukin
 a/ Nūr-Pap-sukkal 23 Rev. 3.
- Da-bi-bi 2, 2.
 Da-ri-ia-muš 18 Rev. 9; 21, 2; 21, 4; 21, 7.
 Di-di-ia
 a/š La-a-ba-ši 21 Rev. 7.
 Du-um-mu-ḫu
 a/ Zēr-ibni 10, 3; 10, 8.
- Ea-iddina(na) 16, 3.
 Ea-iltu(tu)-ibni 3, 2; 3, 9; 3 Rev. 2.
 Ea-na(?)-šir(?) 21 Rev. 9.
 E-di-ru 21 Rev. 5.
 E-gi-bi 3, 11; 12, 3; 18 Rev. 2; 18 Rev. 3; 18 Rev. 6; 20, 3; 21, 3; 22, 2; 22, 5; 22 Rev. 6.
 Ēpeš-ili 15, 4.
 E-sag-gil . . . 6 Rev. 3.
 E-sag-gil-a-a 7, 5.
- Gu-za-nu 20 Rev. 8; 20 Rev. 10.
 m/ Ḫa-am-ba-ḫu 20 Rev. 5.
- Ḫi-il-pu(f)
 m/ Nabû-ku-šur-šu 8, 1.
- Iddina(na)-apli
 a/š Nap-pa-ḫu
 a/ Kab-ti-ia 23 Rev. 9.
 Iddin-apli
 m/ E-gi-bi 20, 3; 20, 5.
 Iddin-Bēl 19 Rev. 6.
 a/š Šamaš-bullit
 a/ Nabû-balat-su-iḫ-bi 21 Rev. 12.
 Iddin-Marduk 18, 3 and 8.
 Iddina(na)-Nabû 22 Rev. 7.
 Iddin-Nabû 19, 7; 21 Rev. 6.
 a/š 15 Rev. 6.
 a/š Bu-na-nu
 a/ Li'ea 19, 6.

- Iddin-Pap-sukkal 23 Rev. 10.
 Ikiša-a
 a/ Nûr-Šamaš 18, 3.
 Ikiša-Marduk
 a/ Kalbi-Nannar 18 Rev. 7.
 Itti-Marduk-balaštu
 a/ E-gi-bi 18 Rev. 6; 20 Rev. 1;
 20 Rev. 9; 21, 3.
 m/ Bêl-aḫē iddin
 m/ E-gi-bi 22, 2.
- Kab()-ti-ia 23 Rev. 9.
 a/ E-gi-bi 3, 11
 Kal-ba-a 21 Rev. 10.
 Kalbi-Nannar 18 Rev. 7.
 Ka-za 15 Rev. 5.
 Ki-na-a
 m/ Ea-na(?)-šir(?) 21 Rev. 9.
 Kīn-zēr 12 Rev. 7.
 Kīn-zēr-aplu 12 Rev. 8.
 Kit-ti-ia 22 Rev. 10.
 Ku-ra-šu 7 Rev. 6.
- La-a-ba-ši 21 Rev. 5; 21 Rev. 7;
 23 Rev. 10.
 a/š Balaṭ-su
 a/ E-sag-gil-a-a 7, 4.
 Labāši-Marduk 23, 10.
 a/š Kab-ti-ia
 a/ E-gi-bi 3, 10.
 a/š Bêl-ibni 23, 3; 23, 6; 23
 Rev. 5.
 Lib-luṭ
 a/š Itti-Marduk-balaštu
 a/ E-gi-bi 18 Rev. 5.
 a/š Zêri-ia
 a/ E-di-ru 21 Rev. 4.
 Lib-lu-ṭu 22, 1; 22, 7; 22 Rev. 2.
- Marduk-êtir
 m/ 21, 4.
- Marduk-ikiša-an-ni 21 Rev. 2.
 a/s Ardi-ia 21, 1.
 Marduk-na(?)-šir(?)
 n/s Itti-Marduk-balaštu 20 Rev.
 1 and 10.
 Marduk-šum-ibni
 a/ Balaṭ-su-Šamaš 7, 3.
 a/ E-gi-bi 18 Rev. 1.
 a/š 7 Rev. 3.
 Marduk-zêr(?)-ibni(?)
 m/ Mu-ra-nu
 a/ E-gi-bi 18 Rev. 2.
 Mu-ra-nu
 a/ E-gi-bi 18 Rev. 2.
 m/š Marduk-šum-ibni
 a/ E-gi-bi 18 Rev. 1.
 Mu-ra-su-u
 a/ Pap-pa-a-a 18 Rev. 5.
 Mu-še-zib 20, 10.
 Mu-še-zib-Nabû 21 Rev. 11.
 Mu-še-zib-tum
 a/ Nûru-(ru)-ra-am(?) 20, 2 and
 7.
 Mu-še-zib-tum(f) 20, 4; 20, 5.
- Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḫ-bi 21 Rev. 12.
 Nabû-bul-liṭ-su
 a/š Iddin-Nabû 21 Rev. 6.
 Nabû-bu-un-šu-tur 15 Rev. 3.
 Nabu-aḫê-bul-liṭ 21, 9; 21, 11; 21
 Rev. 1.
 m/š Itti-Marduk-balaštu
 m/ E-gi-bi 21, 2.
 Nabû-aḫê-iddina(na)
 m/š Šu-la-a
 m/ E-gi-bi 12, 2.
 Nabû-apil-iddin
 a/š Nabû-muballiṭ(it)
 a/ Bêl-e-ṭe-ru 18 Rev. 3.
 Nabû-iddina(na) 12 Rev. 9.
 Nabû-iddin
 a/š Nabû-bul-liṭ-su
 a/š Iddin-Nabû 21 Rev. 6.

- Nabû-iḫṣa 22, 6; 22, 8; 22, 10; 22 Rev. 3; 22 Rev. 4; 23 Rev. 12.
 m/š Še-il-li-bi 22, 4.
 Nabû-it-tan-nu 9 Rev. 2; 22, 1; 22, 8; 22, 10; 22 Rev. 2.
 m/ Balāṭi 9, 1.
 Nabû-itti-ia 19, 5; 19, 10.
 Nabû-ka-ṣir 21 Rev. 8.
 Nabû-kudurru-uṣur 17 Rev. 1.
 Nabû-KU-līšir
 a/ Mu-še-zib-Nabû 21 Rev. 11.
 Nabû-ku-ṣur-šu 8, 2.
 a/š Mu-ra-šu-u
 a/ Pap-pa-a-a 18 Rev. 4.
 Nabû-muballiṭ(iṭ)
 a/ Bēl-e-ṭe-ru 18 Rev. 3.
 Nabû-mudammik
 a/š Nabû-tāriṣ(iṣ)
 a/ Ea-ilūtu(tu)-ibni 3, 9.
 Nabû-nā'id 15 Rev. 8; 18, 4; 12 Rev. 10.
 Nabû-šum-uṣur 8 Rev. 1.
 Nabû-tab-ni-uṣur
 m/š Ri-mu-tu 22 Rev. 7.
 Nabû-tab-ta-ni-uṣur
 m/š Kit-ti-ia 22 Rev. 9.
 Nabû-tāriṣ(iṣ)
 a/ Ea-ilūtu(tu)-ibni 3, 9.
 Nabû-ukīn(in)
 a/ Nūr-Pap-sukkal 23, 12; 23 Rev. 4.
 Nabû-zēr-ibni
 a/ La-a-ba-ši 21 Rev. 5.
 Nabû- . . . ha- . . .
 a/š Bēl-iddin
 a/ Nūr-ilāni 21 Rev. 7.
 Na-di-nu-u 12 Rev. 9.
 Na-na-a 19 Rev. 6.
 Nap-pa-ḥu
 a/ Kab-ti-ia 23 Rev. 9.
 Na-ru-u(f) 20, 4; 20, 6.
 Na-zi- . . . 10, 1.
 Nergal-uballiṭ(iṭ)
 m/ Sag-di-di 12, 4.
 Nergal-ušallim 12, 7.
 Nūr-ilāni 21 Rev. 8.
 Nūr-Pap-sukkal 23, 13; 23 Rev. 4.
 Nūr-Šamaš 18, 3; 18, 10.
 Nūru(ru)-ra-am(?) 20, 2.
 Nu-ub-ta-a(f)
 m/š Marduk-šum-ibni
 a/ Balaṭ-su-Šamaš 7, 2.
 Pap-pa-a-a 18 Rev. 5.
 Ri-mut-Bēl 3, 5; 3, 7; 12 Rev. 9.
 a/š 3 Rev. 1.
 Ri-mu-tu 22 Rev. 8.
 Sad-din-nu 7 Rev. 4.
 Sag-di-di. 12, 5.
 Sik-ku-u(f) 22, 1; 22, 7; 22 Rev. 2.
 Sin-balaṭu-A-ŠI 19 Rev. 4 and 8.
 Šil-la-a 19, 9.
 Šilli-Bēl 9 Rev. 4.
 Ša-kin-Nabû 19, 7.
 Šamaš-bulliṭ-su
 a/ Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḫ-bi 21 Rev. 12.
 Šamaš-erba 22 Rev. 9.
 Šamaš-iddin
 a/š Ki-na-a
 a/ Ea-na(?)-ṣir(?) 21 Rev. 9.
 Šamaš-zēr-ibni 17, 3.
 Šamaš-zēr-iḫṣa 19 Rev. 7.
 Šāpik-zēr
 a/š Du-um-mu-ḫu
 a/ Zēr-ibni 19, 2; 19, 8.
 Še-il-li-bi 22, 4.
 Ši-iš-ku 20, 7
 s/š Iddina-apli
 a/ E-gi-bi 20, 3.
 Šu-la-a
 m/ E-gi-bi 12, 3; 22, 5.

Ṭabi-ia

a/ Ka-za 15 Rev. 5.

m/š Šamaš-erba 22 Rev. 8.

Ta-nit-tum 11, 4.

U-bar

a/š Marduk-ēṭir .

m/ 21 Rev. 3.

a/s Nabû

U-bar

a/ ilāni 23 Rev. 8.

U-din-na-a' 9 Rev. 4.

Zēr-ibni 19, 3; 19, 9.

Zēri-ia 12, 8; 12 Rev. 1; 15 side 2.

a/ E-di-ru 21 Rev. 4.

m/š Nergal-uballiṭ

m/ Sag-di-di 12, 4.

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES FROM THE ARAMAIC PAPYRI.
THE JEWISH CALENDAR. DATES OF THE ACHAE-
MENIANS (CYRUS-DARIUS II)

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It is now about four years since the first larger collection of Aramaic papyri from the Jewish colony at Assuan-Elephantine was published (A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan*, London, 1906). They were preceded by a fair number of scraps and fragments of similar origin and import, written upon stone and potsherds, as well as papyrus (cf. "Seymour de Ricci" in Sayce and Cowley, *App.* II., and Lidzbarski, *Ephem.* III, 210 f.), chief among which for the scope of this paper are a memorial stela of a commander in the army of Artaxerxes I (*RES*, No. 438), and the well-known Strassburg or Euting Papyrus. These have been followed by a goodly number of ostraka, and by the Berlin or Sachau papyri (E. Sachau, *Drei aram. Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine*, Berlin, 1907). A larger number of papyri, etc., are in course of preparation for publication at Berlin.¹ The importance of these finds for our knowledge of the times in which they were indited, of the language in which they were written, of the people from whom and the place whence they proceeded was speedily recognized and has been largely exploited by scholars in Europe and America in many essays and articles. (A list of the most important of these contributions by European scholars is given by W. Staerk in the introductions to his edition—in Hans Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte für theol. u. philol. Vorlesungen und Uebungen* No. 22/23 the Sayce and Cowley papyri, and No. 32 the Sachau, Euting, and Turin papyri.) There is, however, one phase of the evidence of these documents which has scarcely received as much attention as the facts seem to warrant. It is in the Sayce and Cowley papyri especially that the precision and fulness of the dating stands forth

¹Sayce and Cowley papyri, *SC*; the Sachau papyri, *Sachau*. The papyrus of Amyrtaeos' 5th year, since published by Sachau in *Florilegium* *dédié à De Vogüé*, 529-38, does not affect the results of this essay.

as an important factor. In all but one of them the dating is in large measure preserved. In each of these the date is given in years of the king and in the months of the Egyptian as well as the Jewish calendar. And again in all but one of these last the exact day of the month is named according to both systems. As a matter of course it was soon observed that these extraordinarily copious data were very apt to enrich our by no means perfect knowledge of the chronology of those times. In a twofold direction addition to our knowledge might be looked for. New light would almost certainly fall upon the Jewish calendar, the Jewish method of time reckoning, in the fifth century B.C., for which the biblical data are at best but few and scanty, and of which the Talmud and other early Jewish literature has preserved in the main only fragmentary remnants, not always easy of interpretation. And it might reasonably be expected that first-hand documents, so precisely fixed in point of date, would help to fix the chronology of the Achaemenian Persian kings, their reigns, and events occurring in their reigns at points where the documentary evidence, none too full and explicit, had hitherto left difficult questions moot and unsettled (see esp. Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, 437-502, and compare, e.g., J. V. Prašek, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 18-30). The former of these problems, falling within his own especial province, has been treated with his well-known promptness, thoroughness, and lucidity by the late lamented Schürer in the *Theol. Lit.-Ztg.* (1907), 3, coll. 65-69. For the second, Lidzbarski (*Deutsche Lit.-Ztg.*, 1906, 51/52, coll. 3207 ff.) has found the correct reading for the numerals of the king's years, established the Jewish year's beginning with Nisan, and brought out the fact that Papyrus SC B gives Artaxerxes' accession year, not his first year; aside from this, however, he has added little more on the purely chronological side than the cryptic and manifestly faulty statement: "In Aegypten wurde die Zahlung nach Xerxes antedatiert (vgl. Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen*, II, S. 487 f.)."² In view of this it will scarcely appear a superfluous task to muster these data once more in review and seek to ascertain their meaning.

² The efforts of Billel and similar ones, if there be any, may safely be ignored. The only reason for naming Billel at all lies in the fact that he has received mention, though uniformly unfavorable, in journals of high standing.

In the matter of the Jewish calendar of those times, as has been indicated, Schürer has left little undone. But any addition, be it ever so little, with a somewhat fuller elaboration of the evidence, should not be unwelcome in the present state of our knowledge. As the following paragraphs are to deal largely with the three year-forms, the Egyptian, the Jewish, and the Julian, in their relation to each other, a conspectus of them is here given in parallel tables, which, it is hoped, will prove convenient for ready reference to all those readers, however conversant with these matters, who are not professional chronologists and do not constantly work with them. The months as aligned, as a matter of course, correspond only approximately to each other.

EGYPTIAN		JULIAN		JEWISH	
Months	Days	Months	Days	Months	Days
2. Phaophi	30	1. January	31	11. Šebaṭ	29(30)
3. Athyr	30	2. February	28(29)	12. Adar	"
4. Choiak	30	3. March	31	(13. Adar II)	(")
5. Tybi	30	4. April	30	1. Nisan	"
6. Mechir	30	5. May	31	2. Iyyar	"
7. Phamenoth	30	6. June	30	3. Siwan	"
8. Pharmuthi	30	7. July	31	4. Tammuz	"
9. Pachons	31	8. August	31	5. Ab	"
10. Payni	31	9. September	30	6. Elul	"
11. Epiphi	30	10. October	31	(13. Elul II?)	(")
12. Mesore	30	11. November	30	7. Tisri	"
1. Thoth	30	12. December	31	8. Marcheswan	"
				9. Kislew	"
				10. Tebeth	"
12 months and 5 days, $\frac{1461}{4}$ or 365 days.		12 months, $\frac{1461}{4}$ or 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ days, actually 365 or 366 days.		12 or 13 months, $\frac{354}{5}$ or $\frac{384}{5}$ days.	

Following the custom of practically all modern historians, when reckoning with the period B.C. of the Christian era, Julian years are chosen in preference to Gregorian years of complicated fractions. Where so much figuring and reducing must be done, the Julian constant of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days is much simpler to handle. The difference between the two, moreover, is of practically no consequence for our period, the fifth century B.C., amounting to only about 1 day in 128

years. And should occasion require the utmost precision, the reduction from Julian to Gregorian or even to true solar years may then be made much more easily than a reduction in the first place of the various year-forms used in antiquity to Gregorian time reckoning. The historian's method, furthermore, is followed in this also, that the year ending on December 31, preceding January 1, 1 A.D., is counted as the year 1 B.C., the preceding year as 2 B.C., etc., the years B.C. 1, 5, 9, 13, etc., being thus reckoned as leap years (of 366 days), and not the astronomer's method, whereby the year ending December 31, preceding January 1, 1 A.D., is counted as 0, the preceding year as -1, etc., thus making the years 0, -4, -8, -12, etc., leap years.

The Egyptian method of time reckoning is a perfectly well-known and a perfectly regular factor. Leaving aside the naming of the months, which is a later addition, the calendar, as above depicted, was introduced in Egypt in hoary antiquity (according to Ed. Meyer's and J. H. Breasted's brilliant reckoning in 4241 B.C.; this precise date appears somewhat doubtful to Ginzel, *Hdb. d. Chron.* I, 222, and to Lehmann-Haupt, *Klio*, 8, 213-226) and continued in use there, practically without interruption, down to the introduction of the Julian calendar in 46 B.C.³ The relation of this beautifully conventionalized year with its beautifully conventionalized months, which went on for millenniums in its regular course, paying practically no attention to solar years or lunar months—to the Julian year, wherewith we shall have largely to deal—is clear at sight. The Egyptian year = $\frac{1460}{4}$ days; the Julian = $\frac{1461}{4}$ days. Therefore 1461 Egyptian years = 1460 Julian years. In actual practice the calendar cannot take note of quarter days, but only of $\frac{1}{4}$, i.e., full days. Thus the difference between the Egyptian and the Julian year will not be noticeable every year, but only every fourth year. Each fourth or leap year the Egyptian year will gain one day upon the Julian calendar. If in the year following upon a leap year Thoth 1, the beginning of the Egyptian year, fall exactly upon January 1

³ The attempted reform under Ptolemy III, Euergetes (247-22 B.C.), recorded in the decree of Canopus, is later than the times with which this paper deals and need not, therefore, be taken into consideration. So, too, the division of the Egyptian year into three seasons of four months each may be ignored as of no consequence for the purpose of this essay.

of the Julian year, then that Egyptian year and the two following years will precisely equal in length the corresponding Julian years, the last of the Epagomenai=December 31. But in the fourth year thereafter the Julian year will add one day, February 29, whereas the Egyptian year will not. Athyr 29 of that year will=February 28 as before; but Athyr 30 will not be March 1, but February 29, Choiak 1=March 1, not March 2, and so on throughout the rest of that year the Egyptian dates will have slipped back one day in the Julian calendar, until the end of the Egyptian year is reached, not as before, on December 31, but on December 30, and the Egyptian New Year's Day, Thoth 1, will now fall upon December 31, Julian. This process repeating itself every fourth year thereafter, the Egyptian dates will slip back through the entire Julian calendar year, until ultimately the 1st Thoth of the 1461st Egyptian year will again fall upon January 1 of the 1460th Julian year. Under these conditions it is perfectly clear that, any one Egyptian date being certainly (e.g., astronomically) fixed upon any one Julian date, the position of the Egyptian calendar in its relation to the Julian can easily be computed for any number of years before and after. Such given dates there are, not one only, but several (cf. esp. Ed. Meyer, *Aegypt. Chronologie*, *passim*, and J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I, 25-48). Hence we know beyond the shadow of a doubt that in the period covered by the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine (ca. 473-406 B.C.) the beginning of the Egyptian year slipped from December 19 to December 3. (Thoth 1=December 19 from 473-470, December 18 from 469-466, etc.) It is at this point, exactly, that the importance of the chronological data given us in the Aramaic finds from Egypt becomes apparent. What they furnish us for this period is a series of dates according to the Jewish calendar, to which are added their more or less precise equivalents in the easily determinable Egyptian calendar. That this equation of dates in the conventionalized Egyptian calendar with dates, dependent upon astronomical phenomena, in the Jewish calendar is of value for the determination of the chronology of the Persian kings reigning in and before this period, will be shown further on. At present it is the bearing of this evidence upon the Jewish method of calendar making at that time that demands attention.

The Jewish mode of time reckoning at this period is both much less well known, and, so far as known, much less regular and conventional than the Egyptian. A fairly full statement of sources and literature is given in Schürer, *GJV*, Eds. 3 and 4, I, 745-60. Such biblical sources, contemporary or nearly so, as mention months by name rather than by number, supply us with the following list of names: Nisan, Neh. 2:1; Esther 3:7; Siwan, Esther 8:9; (Tammuz is mentioned as the name, not of a month, but of a god, in Ezek. 8:14); Elul, Neh. 6:15; Kislew, Zech. 7:1; Neh. 1:1; Tebeth, Esther 2:16; Šebaṭ, Zech. 1:7; Adar, Esther 3:7, 13; 8:12; 9, *passim*. To this list the Aramaic papyri add Tammuz, *Sachau* AB, l. 4; Ab, SC, F; Tišri, SC, G; Marchešwan *Sachau* AB l. 30. This gives us, with the sole exception of Iyyar, the complete list of the later Jewish calendar above exhibited. None of these names is given in any Jewish document or literary source previous to the Exile. As found in the sources they are simply Aramaized forms of the names in the Assyro-Babylonian calendar. These names must have come into use among the Jews in Egypt, as well as those of Babylonia and Palestine, at about the exilic period, certainly not much before that time.

What sort of months did these names stand for? How was the length of each month, its beginning and end, determined? On this point the biblical evidence, and the direct evidence of the papyri as well, is scanty. The biblical sources do little more than to exhibit a strong tendency to actual observation of the moon's phases in the matter, especially the new moon (חֹדֶשׁ in its twofold meaning, as "month" and "new moon") with much less emphasis on the full moon (פֶּסַח, Prov. 7:20; Ps. 81:4, and the laws concerning the Passover and other feasts). The name יָרֵחַ for month, which the papyri have in common with biblical Aramaic and Hebrew and other Semitic tongues and dialects, is not much stronger evidence in this respect than is our "month" or poetic "moon." In another manner, however, the testimony of the papyri is fairly strong and clear. Finding, by the method above indicated, the Julian date corresponding to the Egyptian date given, and leaving for the king's year mentioned a limit of uncertainty within three years (which is certainly all that can within reason be asked for upon paleographical,

chronological, or any other grounds), if one consult for the years and months so ascertained the table of new moons in Ginzel, *op. cit.*, I, 547-62, it will be found that in most instances for one of these years the Jewish date given will show the beginning of the Jewish month to have taken place 1 or 2 days after the preceding new moon. Thus:

		Preceding New Moon
SC, A Xerxes 15 472-470	Pachons 28 { Sept. 12 Elul 18 { Elul 1, Aug. 26	472, Sept. 4 471, Aug. 24 470, Sept. 12
SC, B <Xerxes> 21 Artax. acc. 463-464	Thoth <17> { (Cf. Schürer, { Jan. 3/2 Th. Litz., l.c.) } Kislew 18 Kislew 1, Dec. 17/16	466, Nov. 26 465, Dec. 14/15 ⁴ 464, Dec. 4 ⁴
SC, D(+C?) Artax. 6(?) 461-458	Mesore 1 { Nov. 11 Kislew 21 { Kislew 1=Oct. 22	461, Oct. 31 460, Oct. 20/21 459, Nov. 9 458, Oct. 29
SC, E, Artax. 19 447-445	Mesore 10 { Nov. 17/16 Kislew 3 { Kislew 1=Nov. 15/14	447, Oct. 28 446, Nov. 15/16 445, Nov. 4
SC, F, Artax. 25 441-439	Pachons 19 { Aug. 26 Ab 14 { Ab 1=Aug. 13	441, Aug. 23 440, Aug. 12 439, Aug. 1/2

(In SC, G the date is too fragmentary to be made use of here. If the reference be to Artax. 25, i.e., in all probability 440, as the previous date shows, then the equation of Staerk, Epiphi 6 = Tišri 26, is impossible. For Epiphi 1 fell in this year upon October 7—and the date found for Ab 1, viz., August 13, shows that Tišri must have begun October 11/12, new moon, October 10. The dates for

⁴ The dates here given are translated from the astronomical days, 12 M.-12 M., as given in Ginzel, into the days wherewith we ordinarily reckon, 12 P.M.-12 P.M., the exact hour, minute, second being omitted as in the case of this article an unnecessary hyper-precision. The seeming difference now and then of one day between the dates in Ginzel and here is thus easily explained, e.g., the new moon for Dec. 464 is given by Ginzel as Dec. 3.94. This is about 11 o'clock A.M. of Dec. 4, as ordinarily reckoned. If one read with a more commonly accepted conjecture Thoth <7> for <17>, this would make Kislew 1=Dec. 6, in the only year possible with this reading, 464. The reading adopted by Schürer is much the more probable, as will be more explicitly shown shortly. The date as given in Staerk, Kislew 18, Thoth 7, Xerxes 21 - Artax I. 1 - 465 is manifestly impossible. In fact most of Staerk's dating for these papyri is atrocious.

Epiphi must thus be 4 or 5 days higher than those for Tisri. Now a date of 20+ being practically assured paleographically for Tisri and a date *ending* in a unit 6 or 9 for Epiphi this leaves the choice between Epiphi 29 = Tisri 24/25 or Epiphi 26 = Tisri 21/22. The date in SC, H is not sufficiently exact for use at this point.)

SC, J, Darius II 8 Jewish 418-416	<9> Egyptian	Thoth 12	{ Dec. 17/16	418, Dec. 6
		Kislew 3		
		Kislew 1 = Dec. 15/14		
SC, K, Darius II, 13 Jewish 412-410	14 Egyptian	Athyr 9	{ Febr. 10	412, Feb. 6
		Sebat 24		411, Jan. 27
		Sebat 1 = Jan. 18		410, Jan. 16/17

There are six (seven, if C be counted separately) papyri (A, D [+C], E, F, J, K) in which no serious lacuna makes doubtful what the scribe actually wrote in the dating. For all six of these there is one of the 3 or 4 years examined, in which the beginning of the Jewish month dovetails fairly well with the date of the preceding new moon. In only one case, D (+C), does the year so found cause real, though not at all insurmountable, difficulty. B and G can be brought into line by conjectures not at all violent or improbable, fitting well enough into the lacunae and taking due account of the fragments remaining. In five of the six unquestionable cases the date found lies from 1 to 2 days after the actual new moon. In B and G the conjectures suggested lead to a similar result. Now 1 to 2 days after the actual new moon, which is, of course, invisible, occurs what is popularly called the "new moon," the יָדֵי, the first visible appearance of the newly waxing moon (cf. Ginzel, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Weissbach in *Hilprecht Ann. Vol.*, pp. 281-90). As a rule, then, in these papyri the beginning of the month coincides with the "new moon," the first visible appearance of the newly waxing moon. This is probably what determined the beginning of the month, as it did in Babylon at this time (cf. Ginzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 f.), and as it did among the Jews in Palestine for some centuries later (cf. the tractate *Rosh Hashanah* in the Talmud; Mahler, *Bibl. Chronologie*, 67 f.; Schürer, *GJV*, I, 750). The Jewish month, then, was not a pre-established, fixed quantity, like the Egyptian or ours. It was fixed, so to speak, on the spur of the moment. If the

"new moon" appeared on the thirtieth day of a month, then this day was taken away from this month, leaving it defective (29 days), and became the first day of the next month. If the new moon did not appear on the 30th day, the month was a full month (30 days), and the following day was the first of the next month. This was the rule. But there was an exception (Papyrus E, Kislew 1 = the actual, invisible new moon). This exception is quite what might be looked for. There would be times, even in Egypt, when the appearance of the new moon would be obscured by dust, mist, clouds. Such a contingency was not at all unlikely in Egypt in the middle of November, the time when E was written. In such an event the first of the month would have to be calculated or guessed at. The date in E looks rather like a rough guess. In any case the exception rather tends to prove the rule than otherwise. The Jewish months of those times were true lunar months (i.e., lunations), not fixed with modern, scientific precision, and yet, because resting upon actual observation, corresponding fairly well to the exact measurements of modern instruments and reckonings. Now, the so-called synodical month, the time between one actual new moon and the next, is 29 days, 12h. 44m., 2.9s. This means that by the methods above outlined the Jewish months would alternate with fair regularity between 29 and 30 days, with now and then two 30-day months following upon each other. Within a twelvemonth there could scarcely, except by gross and unlikely error, be less than 6 or more than 7 30-day months. The statement of the Talmud (cf. Schürer, *GJV*, *loc. cit.*) that there may be 4-8 of either and other similar statements are either mere theoretical quibbles or the result of ignorance, or both. The twelve-month lunar year (if such a thing as a "lunar year" may be spoken of) would consist of 354/5 days (actual lunar twelvemonth 354 days, 8h., 48m., 36s. For this and the lunar month cf. Ginzel, *op. cit.*, I, 36).

The discrepancy between this lunar twelvemonth and the (tropical, solar) year (variable, *ca.* 365 days, 5h., 48m., 46s., cf. Ginzel, *op. cit.*, 32) is apparent at a glance. This was quite as apparent to the Jew of Persian (and much earlier) times as it is to the ordinary man today. Unless he lived in Egypt, the year of 365 days may not have been a matter of as common knowledge to him as

it is to modern men. But he knew quite well that his lunar twelvemonth was not a year, fell from 10–11 days short of being a year. His year was not a "lunar year." In fact, there is no such thing as a "lunar year," and it is highly probable that no people ever attempted to live with such an impossible institution except those for whom it was artificially created and upon whom it was inexorably forced by the none too intelligent but cast-iron rule of Mohammed's Quran (cf. Ed. Meyer, *Forsch.* II, 438; *GA*² I, 1, 237). The year whereby any people, nomadic, agricultural, or commercial, who have learned to measure time at all, will naturally reckon, is that space of time represented by the regular revolution of the seasons determined by the sun (cf. Ginzel, *op. cit.*, 91). The time of new grass for the herds, the time of the melons (so a woman of Artas, near Bethlehem, in 1909 dated for us the birth of her babe), the time of sowing and harvest, the time when travel and shipping was safe, the time when kings went forth to battle, etc., these are the things that count in the life of a people and that determine their reckoning of the year. This was the case with the Egyptians, whose conventionalized calendar, slipping back only 15 days in 60 years, a hardly noticeable shift within the lifetime of the individual, for all practical purposes represented this natural year. This was no less the case with the Greeks and Babylonians in spite of their lunar months. And the Jews were no differently situated in this respect than these other peoples. Their year too was the natural solar year. All the biblical evidence points this way. This much, at least, may safely be deduced from the Gezer Calendar, *PEF*, QS, 1908, p. 271; 1909 *passim*, and the testimony of the papyri is clear. Most of those above examined have given us the date for Kislew 1. It is easy to deduce the same date from the others. Thus in 471 the third new moon after Elul 1 = August 26, must have become visible November 22/23, in 440 the fourth new moon after Ab 1 = August 13 on December 9/10, 411/10 the second new moon before Šebaṭ 1 = January 18 on November 19/20. This gives us in order the following dates for Kislew 1: November 22/23, 471; December 16, 465; October 22, 460; November 15, 446; December 9/10, 440; December 14, 416; November 19/20, 410. The limits of variation in these dates are wide, between October 22

and December 16. Yet Kislew does remain within these limits, roughly *within the limits of the same season* throughout. It does not, as it would in the Mohammedan lunar year, regularly and constantly slip back 10–12 days in the calendar each year, thus making a complete circuit of the seasons in *ca.* 33 years. The Jew of this place and period kept his months, however roughly, within their proper seasons. This is proof conclusive, if such proof be needed, that his year was not the lunar twelvemonth, but the revolution of the seasons, the solar year.

The means whereby he kept his months thus roughly constant were, of course, the same as those used by the other peoples of those times, who like him had lunar months and solar years to deal with, e.g., Babylonians and Greeks. About every third year he would notice that his months had slipped back about the length of a month in the seasonal year, and would supply this deficiency by inserting an extra month, a 13th month. Two questions are of interest and importance in regard to this process of intercalation: (1) How regular, how systematic was it? (2) At what point of the year did it take place?

On the first point the evidence of the documents is unmistakable. Before proceeding to the unfolding of it, we may at this point add the data of two further documents. The first is the stela, *RES*, No. 438. This is dated in Siwan = Mechir, 7th year of Artaxerxes I. Proceeding in a similar manner as above, we find:

Artax. I, year 7	Egyptian Month	Possible Jewish Months
459	{ May 15–June 13	{ April 18–May 16/17
or		{ May 17/18–June 16/17
458	{ May 15–June 13	{ May 6/7–June 4/5
or		{ June 5/6–July 4/5
457	{ May 14–June 12	{ April 24/25–May 23/24
		{ May 24/25–June 22/23

On grounds to be developed later, it is most probable that the month meant is May 6/7–June 4/5, 458. For the present purpose the choice may be left open between this and the next in probability, May 17/18–June 16/17, 459. The other additional document is *SC*, Papyrus H, dated Elul = Payni, Darius II, year 4.

King's Year	Egyptian Month	Possible Jewish Months
421	{ Sept. 2-Oct. 1	Aug. 13-Sept. 10/11
or		Sept. 11/12-Oct. 10/11
420		<i>Sept. 1-29/30</i>
or	{ Sept. 2-Oct. 1	Aug. 21-Sept. 18/19
419		Sept. 19/20-Oct. 18/19

September 1-29/30, 420 is by all odds the most probable and may be set down as sufficiently certain to be used here. In this case, too, it is easy to find the beginning of Kislew, as the third "new moon" thereafter, November 29 (30). The reduction to Kislew 1 is made, wherever feasible, because of greater ease and simplicity in the following exposition. The date of the stela is left in its original form because of some uncertainty at this point still attaching to it. Should anyone wish to he may with little trouble follow out the reckonings about to be undertaken with the original dates throughout. Taking now the series of dates ascertained and the table of new moons in Ginzel to show the number and position of the Jewish months throughout the 60 odd years covered by these dates, it is easy to measure the distance from one to the other both in years and in months. Between Kislew 1 = November 22/23, 471 and Kislew 1 = December 16, 465, lie 75 lunar months within a space of 6 years. It is evident that 3 of these years must have had 13 months. In exactly which of these years intercalation was made, there is but little evidence. In view of the fact that, as we shall see presently, for four years thereafter no intercalation took place, the extremely late Kislew in 465 makes it highly probable that either an Elul II in this very year (this would save Nisan from falling inordinately late, April 23/24) or, less probably, an Adar II in the previous year had been added. As to the other two intercalations it can only be said that if the growing defectiveness of the year was overlooked between Nisan 1 (March 22/23), 470 and the end of Adar (March 8/9, 469), it could not fail to be noticed in the following year. Similarly 467/6, or in case this was overlooked, certainly 466/5 would demand intercalation. Between Kislew 1 = December 16, 465 and Kislew 1 = October 22, 460 lie 60 lunations within the space of 5 years, making exactly 5 twelvemonths. Between these two Kislews there is absolutely no intercalation. Reckoning the

year from Nisan-Adar there are four defective years in succession. As it was highly probable that 465/4 had been a year of intercalation, so it is highly probable that 460/59 could not but receive an added Adar (February 17/18 - March 18/19, 459), for it is scarcely possible that Nisan should ever have been so early. The date of the stela, *RES*, No. 438, whether we take it, as is most probable, to be Siwan=May 6/7-June 4/5, 458, or as Siwan=May 17/18-June 16/17, 459, shows conclusively that this intercalation at the end of 460/59 took place, but no other between it and the stela, unless, as is quite improbable, the Siwan of the stela be June 5/6-July 4/5, 458. Upon this basis it is fairly safe to say that 460/59 an Adar II was added; it was a leap year, and 459/58 was not—was a defective year, without intercalation. The next given date is twelve years later, Kislew 1=November 15, 446. Reckoning from the most probable stela-dates, Siwan=May 6/7-June 4/5, 458, the sixth lunation thereafter, October 30/31-November 28/29, is Kislew, 458. Between October 30/31, 458 and November 15, 446, lie 149 lunations for 12 years, necessitating five 13-month years, as to the exact location of which little can be said, except that the apparent defectiveness of 458/7 makes it probable that this year or, if not this, then certainly 457/6 must have received intercalation, whereas the rather normal position of Kislew, etc., in 446 makes it improbable that it was a leap year. The space between Kislew 1=November 15, 446 and Kislew 1=December 9/10, 440, is much like the first, an interval of 6 years, for which 75 lunations demand three intercalations. The position of Ab in 440 makes it practically certain that no intercalation (e.g. by Elul II) could have taken place in 440/39 and that it must have been made in the previous year 441/40. The next date, as computed above, makes Kislew 420 begin November 29/30. For the interval of 20 years between this and the foregoing date 247 lunations demand 7 intercalations; 420/19 does not seem to have been a leap year. Within the next four years, before Kislew 1=December 14, 416, two intercalary months must have been inserted, as the intervening 50 lunations show. The following 5 years, up to Kislew 1=November 19/20, 411, show 61 lunations with but one intercalation. Thus we have, figuring the years from Nisan-Adar:

Probable Embolismic Years	Number of Embolismic Years	Period	Number of Non- embolismic Years	Probable Non- embolismic Years
		Nisan (March 31 or April 1)		471/0
	3	471 ult. Adar (April 11/12)	4	
465/4 (Elul II)		464 Nisan (April 12/13)		464/3 463/2 462/1 461/0
	1	464 ult. Adar II (March 18/19)	4	
460/59		459 Nisan (March 19/20)		
	1	459 ult. Adar II (March 25/26)	1	459/8
458/7		457 Nisan (March 26/27)		457/6
	4	457 ult. Adar (March 13/14)	8	
		445 Nisan (March 14/15)		446/5
	3	445 ult. Adar (April 5/6)	3	
441/0		439 Nisan (April 6/7)		440/39 439/8
	7	439 ult. Adar (March 25/6)	13	
421/0		419 Nisan (March 26/27)		420/19 419/8 417/6
418/7		419 ult. Adar (April 10/11)	2	
	2	415 Nisan (April 11/12)		415/4 414/3
416/15 (Elul II)		415 ult. Adar (March 27/28)	3	
413/2	1	411 ⁵		412/1
Total	22	60	38	

⁵ Since there is no means of deciding whether 411 0 had or had not an Adar II (March 17 18–April 15 16, 410) added to it—though the probability is that it had not—this year is left out of the reckoning.

Of a system or cycle (8-year or 19-year) there is no trace. In fact, the astonishing number of four non-embolismic years in succession (464/3–461/0), practically assured even though one assume for Pap. SC, B, the almost impossible date 464/3, makes it almost certain that the Jews in Persian times had no such cycle, any more than did the Jews of Jesus' time (cf. Schürer, *GJV*, 3/4, I, 751 f.). And—if this slight digression be permitted—this rather makes for Weissbach's view, that the Babylonians of this time had no such system or cycle, at least not in general, popular use (cf. *Hilprecht Ann. Vol.* 281–90, where Weissbach finds that an attempt at reform of the calendar in this direction proved abortive in the last third of the sixth century B.C., and that the 19-year cycle was not introduced until 381 B.C. +). It would, of course, not be safe to base such a view solely upon the conclusion from the Jewish to the Babylonian. But now that the tests of Weissbach (l.c.), Ginzel (*op. cit.*, 132 f.), *et al.*, have rather shaken the findings of Mahler (in many well-known writings) and Ed. Meyer (*ZA*, IX, 325 ff.), the failure of the Jews to receive with the calendar they borrowed from the Babylonians after the time of Nabonassar (747–734 A.D.) any 8- or 19-year cycle or system of intercalation is an added bit of evidence, going to show that at this time the Babylonians probably had no such system. Or may the experience of Meton among the wide-awake Greeks of classical times suggest a resolution of the difference between Weissbach and Mahler? The reform of Meton, though made in 432 and recognized in the scientific world of his day, was not adopted for popular use in Athens until much later (342/1; cf. A. Schmidt, *Griech. Chronologie*, 622). The contemporary popular opinion of the improvement is well expressed in the proverbial expression *ἀναβάλλεσθαι τι εἰς τὸν Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτόν* (*Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch & Schneidewin, I, 433: *App.*, Cent. III, 88.). If this was the popular feeling and the resulting course of events in regard to such matters among the Greeks of this time, is not a similar development possible and even highly probable for Babylon?—As to the point at which an intercalary month was inserted within the year, there is no direct evidence. But there is strong evidence in regard to the month and season which the Jews of that time thought of as the beginning of their year. Now this in itself is of little importance, is in fact an almost

purely arbitrary convention, as is shown by the differences on this point not only among ancient, but also among modern peoples. The Babylonians and Assyrians in the period of which we have clearest knowledge began their year at about the vernal equinox; most of the Greeks at the autumnal equinox; the Romans at about the time of the winter solstice; the Egyptians wherever within the seasons their revolving year happened to fall; and in our own day the peoples still using the Julian calendar celebrate their New Year's Day on January 14. And that our winter solstice is not a New Year especially arranged by Providence is clear, when we remember that in that case the New Year of our friends south of the equator would differ by six months from ours, and that the unfortunates living directly upon the equator would have no New Year at all. Moreover, the point at which a people begins its year has no necessary connection with the point at which they make their intercalation. The Babylonians, though for a long time there was no question in their minds as to the year's beginning with Nisan, inserted their additional month sometimes after Elul, sometimes after Adar, and a few times, possibly, even after Nisan. And we are accustomed to make our insertion at the end of our second month, foreshortened to this end by the decree of long-dead Roman Caesars. Nevertheless, the finding of the Jewish year's beginning as the people of that time conceived it is of considerable importance for the conversion of dates in Persian (or other) kings' years to years B.C., which is presently to be undertaken. And not only that, but, in connection with the Jewish feast-calendar, especially the date of the Passover, it will show with some likelihood, even if it do not conclusively determine, the point or points at which the Jews did or might insert their intercalary month.

Now in regard to the point at which fell the Jewish New Year, the Assuan papyri give unmistakable evidence, as Lidzbarski, (*Deutsche Lit.-Ztg.*, 1906, 51/52, coll. 3207 ff.) has seen and well set forth. Papyri J (cf. Lidzb., *loc. cit.*) and K show the Egyptian New Year to be ahead of the Jewish; for when with Thoth of the [9th] and Athyr of the 14th year of Darius II, the new Egyptian year has already begun, the Jews are still counting Kislew of the 8th and Šebaṭ of the 13th year respectively. But for Elul-Pachons,

Xerxes 15, and, for Ab-Pachons, Artaxerxes I, 25, for Elul-Payni, Darius II, 4 (Papyri A, F, H), and for Siwan-Mechir, Artaxerxes I, 7, (*RES* 438) the years are alike, the Jewish year has caught up. The Jewish New Year must have fallen between Šebaṭ and Siwan. The date in B, which equates Thoth and Kislew with no difference in the year, does not invalidate this conclusion. It is an exceptional case anyway, in that it is the only one of our documents to fall within an accession year, and the scribe would not be likely further to encumber an already cumbersome designation for this year by adding to it a different designation for the Egyptian date. In fact the exact point at which the year's beginning fell is indicated by the formula **ראש בלוחא** in this papyrus. This formula, which has an important bearing on the chronology of the Persian kings also, is the precise equivalent of the Assyro-Babylonian **SAG-NAM-LUGAL-E**, *reš šarruti*. This is the formula, not, as Staerk in his edition of the Papyri, p. 10, says, for the first year of Artaxerxes I, but as the writer of the papyrus distinctly says, for the *fag end* of the predecessor's (Xerxes I's) twenty-first year, which runs to the next Zagmuku or New Year's festival, the first of Nisan. Our papyri know no other beginning of the Jewish year than that with Nisan. This is the New Year of Babylon and Assyria, and very probably that of Persia also (cf. Prašek, *Hilprecht Ann. Vol.* 14-19), in short of the Persian, as well as of the Assyrian and Babylonian Empire. And this is quite in line with the Old Testament evidence as well. For the overwhelming majority of the passages dealing with these matters throughout the Old Testament, there is no question on this point. The expressions **באח השנה**, Exod. 23:16, and **תקופת השנה**, Exod. 34:22, often cited to prove an older New Year on Tisri 1 are at best highly doubtful quantities. They may on the one hand be balanced by the expression **תשובת השנה**, II Sam. 11:1; I Kings 20:22, 26; I Chron. 20:1; II Chron. 36:10; and on the other hand it is rather more than probable, as Eerdmans, *Th. Tijds.* 39:454 f., and Lotz, *PRE³*, s.v. "Jahr," are virtually agreed, that these are simply inexact, popular expressions, not dealing with the calendaric year at all. A real difficulty, however, lies in Neh. 1:1; cf. 2:2. Here Kislew and the following Nisan are both counted as belonging to the same year, Artaxerxes I, year 20. This would

seem to make for Ed. Meyer's assumption, *Forsch.* II, 485, that here Nehemiah dates his years from the actual beginning of Artaxerxes' reign, not from a New Year = first Nisan, or that he here dates, as Herodotus, III:67, is supposed to do, by years according to Persian fashion, beginning with the autumnal equinox, i.e., Tisri. But the Herodotus evidence is doubtful and does not suffice to show such a method among the Persians (cf. Prašek, *loc. cit.*). And for the Nehemiah passages at least three other possibilities than those above mentioned must be reckoned with. It may indeed be (1) that he deals with a Persian year-form, beginning in the autumn, or (2) that he counts by actual years of the king's reign, beginning on or before Kislew. But it may also be (3) that the Jews at this time instituted the later "civil year" beginning Tisri 1, or (4) that a scribe or editor of some later time, when this institution obtained, made the "correction," or (5) that it is simply a scribal error. No. 1 has been dealt with; (2) seems highly improbable in the case of a man who, like Nehemiah, must have been well acquainted with the customs in vogue in Babylon and elsewhere in the Semitic and especially the Aramaic-speaking portions, at least, of the Persian Empire. Of (3) there is not a shred of real evidence elsewhere. This rather leaves (4) and (5) to choose from. And, whatever may be said of Babylonia in the most ancient times, for the Jews, at least, from the earliest times of which we have record down through the Exile and a large portion of the Persian period, all the available evidence seems to point clearly to a year-form beginning with the vernal equinox. The Jewish "civil" year beginning with first Tisri is almost certainly an institution of Greek (Seleucid?) times, later than Alexander.

Saying that we know the Jewish year to have begun with Nisan is not saying that we can fix the absolute date of this beginning for every year with certainty. There will be a limit of uncertainty of a day or two in most cases, and of a month in some. But although this point cannot be established with the same degree of precision as some of the preceding, there is some evidence in this direction also. In the first place the beginning of the year would, as a matter of course, be kept as near the vernal equinox as possible (although this would not be as precisely fixed as in modern times). In the

second place there is no good reason why these Jews in Egypt should not have celebrated their Passover on the fourteenth (i.e., the full moon) of Nisan. There is moreover a rule, mentioned by Anatolius (Euseb., *H.E.* VII, 32, 14-19), the Talmud (*Tos. Sanhedrin*, C II), and Josephus (*Ant.* III, 10, 5) whereby the Passover should occur when the sun stands in Aries (ca. March 21-April 21, present dating), i.e., practically on the first full moon after the vernal equinox (which fell in the period of the papyri on March 26-28, Julian). This rule has the ring of Babylonian loan material, especially in the mention of the signs of the zodiac. Now, why should not these Jews have appropriated this at approximately the same time at which they were borrowing so much calendaric material from Babylon, i.e., before the period of the Assuan papyri? If so, this would give us a fairly fixed point for the middle of Nisan and therewith, of course, for its beginning also. How does the testimony of the papyri agree with this? Schürer (*Theol. Lit.-Ztg.*, *loc. cit.*), has computed from them, by the simple process of counting back a sufficient number of months, the following Passover dates: April 12, 471; May 6, 465; March 13, 460; April 6, 446; April 30, 440; May 4, 416; April 10, 411—four errors (numbers 2, 3, 5, and 6) out of seven cases, three of them bad ones. But the case does not seem to me necessarily as bad as this. No. 5 is not so bad as to be impossible, the crudeness of the methods of observation in those times being considered. For No. 3, indeed, there appears to be no remedy. But Nos. 2 and 6 may easily be remedied by the simple expedient of assuming the insertion of an Elul II in those years. This makes it seem to me altogether probable that an Elul II, also, to be inserted upon occasion, was among the calendaric material originally received by the Jews from Babylon, although later (possibly through the growing importance of a rabbinically precise Passover date) this feature was dropped. The following fuller elaboration of more or less probable 1 Nisan and Passover dates, on the basis of the material given above, counting not only backward, as did Schürer, but forward also, and computing for the intervening years of the shorter intervals as well, will, I think, make this probability more apparent. A margin of error of a day, forward and back, should, of course, be allowed.

Nisan 1	Year	Passover
March 31	471	April 13
March 21	470	April 3
March 24 (+ Elul II)	465	April 6
April 12	464	April 25
April 2	463	April 15
March 22	462	April 4
March 11	461	March 24*
March 1	460	March 15*
March 19	459	April 1
March 8	458	March 22*
March 26	457	April 8
March 15	456	March 27
March 25	446	April 7
March 14	445	March 27
March 29	441	April 11
April 17	440	April 30*
April 6	439	April 19
March 27	438	April 9
March 18	421	March 31
April 6	420	April 19
March 26	419	April 8
March 16	418	March 29
April 3	417	April 16
March 24 (+ Elul II)	416	April 6
April 11	415	April 24
March 31	414	April 13
March 19	413	April 1
April 7	412	April 20
March 28	411	April 10
March 17	410	March 30

There are, figuring on the basis of the vernal equinox dates above given, only 4 errors in 30 cases (those marked *), and only one of these (460) too bad to be explained on the ground of crude methods alone. So much for the Jewish calendar of these times.

The second subject to be dealt with in this paper is the contribution of the Assuan papyri and related material to the exact determination of the chronological succession of the Achaemenian kings. The only statement to my knowledge in all the prolific literature called forth by these papyri, even so much as touching upon this point, is Lidzbarski's faulty statement mentioned above: "In Aegypten wurde die Zahlung nach Xerxes antedatiert (vgl. Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen*, II, S. 487 f.)." The statement is not very clear. From the

context, however, it may be gathered to mean that for the dating of documents, etc., during the reign of Xerxes I the antedating method was employed. Now, in the first place, this is not what Meyer says, least of all in the place quoted, pp. 487 f. He is not speaking there of dating in contemporary documents like the Aramaic papyri at all, but of the dates of Manetho. These, as reconstructed at the top of p. 488, correspond exactly (except for the manifest error December 1 for December 3, 405 as the closing date of Darius II's reign) for Darius I–Darius II to the dates of the Ptolemaic canon as given in the table facing p. 457. And of these chronographers, Babylonian as well as Egyptian, and their lists, Meyer says, pp. 475 and 485, that they postdate for Cyrus and Cambyses, antedate (eliminating Smerdis) for Darius I and Xerxes I, then postdate again for Artaxerxes I and Darius II. For such contemporary documents as he had, Egibi tablets and Murašu tablets, Vol. IX, Artax. I, he assumes postdating for Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius I, and Xerxes I, then antedating for Artaxerxes I and Darius II, of which latter's reign he had no documents at all in hand (pp. 483–85). In the second place, simply to apply Meyer's results, arrived at upon the basis of less good and less full evidence to new, first-hand material is faulty method. The correct method is to test and re-examine the results of Meyer *et al.* at the hand of the newer and better documentary material. Such re-examination is what the following paragraphs propose to undertake.

The manifest slip in these matters of so able a man as Lidzbarski and the palpable uncertainty of Staerk in his datings make it seem the more desirable in writing for a wider circle of readers to preface the presentation of the material itself by a brief restatement of the conditions and the materials wherewith this examination will have to deal, and of the fundamental principles according to which it should proceed. We, the spoilt heirs of a method of time reckoning in terms of the Christian era, which makes it perfectly easy, by a few strokes of the pen, to indicate precisely any number of years preceding or following our own day, have, many of us, given little thought to the millenniums of laborious effort, to the many less successful attempts which preceded the opening of this "royal road." It is not as widely known as it should be, that the custom of dating

backward as well as forward from the conventionally accepted year of Christ's birth did not become established until the latter part of the eighteenth century A.D. (cf. Meyer, *GA*², I, 1, 240). The method of dating by means of an era at all is not so old as is commonly supposed, the first such era to come into common use being probably that of the Seleucids, beginning 312/11 B.C. For the Roman "A.U.C." and the Greek Olympiad era are exploded idols of a past generation (cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, 239 f.), and the oft-mentioned Babylonian era of Nabonassar (beginning 747 B.C.), though used after a fashion by astronomers, as the Ptolemaic canon shows, was never put into practical everyday use. The need of fixing, of naming, of determining a greater or less number of years, past or future, with relation to each other and to the present, made itself felt, of course, from the most ancient times, wherever records or chronicles were kept, when treaties were concluded, when contracts were made, when history began to be written, etc., etc. But how difficult so progressive a people as the Greeks found it to fix any one date in the constant flow of time even as late as the sixth century B.C. is well illustrated by the treaty between Elis and Heraea, which was dated *συμμαχία κ' εα εκατον ρετεια, αρχοι δε κατοι*, "for 100 years, to begin in the present year" (cf. *CIG* 11; Meyer, *Forschungen*, II, 440, 4; *GA*², I, 1, 238), about as effective a scheme as that used by the good burghers of Schildburg, when they cut a notch in their boat's rail to fix the location of their church bell, sunk in the lake to prevent capture by the enemy. Better schemes, however, had been invented earlier than this. The first method, to our knowledge, upon which men hit to meet this need, was to name some year after any event out of the ordinary occurring in it, and to count by this year until the intervention of the next event of this kind (e.g., years of earthquakes, of eclipses of sun or moon, of the *διάβασις* of Xerxes, of the battle of Marathon, etc., etc., just as we sometimes date by the Chicago fire or the Johnstown flood, etc.); indeed, the Babylonians of Hammurabi's time named each year after its most prominent event (cf. King, *Letters and Inscr. of Hammurabi*, III, lvi ff.; *Studies in Eastern History*, II, ch. vii). When this method eventually proved its inefficacy the next expedient to be tried was, to name each year or a number of years together after some person of prominence whose

name might naturally suggest itself or be artificially connected with it. Thus in Assyria years were named after persons especially designated as the eponymoi of each year, in Greece after archons, ephoroi, strategoi, etc., in Rome after consuls. In countries under monarchical government, the name of the sovereign would easily connect itself with the years of his reign. One or both of these methods then remained in use until the adoption of the era-method, the beginnings of which are sketched above. It is the latter of the two methods which prevails in the Aramaic business documents from Elephantine and in the cuneiform business documents, related to them, of Persian times from Babylon and its neighborhood (chiefly the Egibi and Murašu contract tablets).

The chief difficulty about this method lies in the fact that kings are not in the habit of dying either on precisely the same date as their predecessors or exactly at the end of the year as their merchant, artisan, and peasant subjects are wont to reckon the year as ending. This makes it highly impracticable to date either a chronological canon (like the Ptolemaic) or business or official government documents by actual years of a king's reign. Thus in the case of a contract to run for several years made in the last year of Artaxerxes I, the unfortunate parties would have to reckon with a new year's beginning at the accession of Xerxes II, which probably did not correspond precisely to that of his father, then after $1\frac{1}{2}$ –2 months another new year-form would be introduced by Sogdianus, and after 5–6 months still another by Darius II. It is worthy of note that among modern nations England still clings in its official documents to this cumbersome relic of remote antiquity. Most progressive ancient nations soon found means to rid themselves of this encumbrance by one of two ways. Some *antedated*, i.e., counted the year in the course of which a king came to the throne as his first year, as his in full from the beginning of the civil year, ignoring the fraction which might fall to his predecessor. This method prevailed in Egypt under the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (663–525), the dynasty preceding Persian rule. Others *postdated*, i.e., gave the year in the course of which a king died to him in full, practically ignoring the remaining fraction which fell to the successor, and dating the first of the successor's reign from the following New Year's Day. This was the method prevail-

ing in Babylon from very early times, in connection with the now well-known custom whereby one could become rightful King of Babylon only by entering the temple of Bel (Marduk) on Nisan first (Zagmuku, New Year's Day), and seizing the hands of the god's statue.

Now obviously the first thing to do in determining the dates of documents like the Assuan papyri or the Murašu tablets and in using them to determine the dates of a king or a series of kings, is to ascertain which one of the above methods is used in the dating. Then a fixed point or several fixed points (preferably, if possible, such as are astronomically fixed; in default of this, such as are fixed, e.g., by parallelism with other well-known dates) must be looked for. And finally, for a whole series of kings or for a long stretch of years, it is important to ascertain what lacunae, if any, are present. Eponym lists or lists of monarch's reigns are of value precisely in proportion to their completeness.

In regard to the first point there can be no manner of doubt in regard to the Egibi tablets (Cyrus-Xerxes); cf. Meyer, *Forschungen*, II, 462-79, 483-85. They postdate throughout. There is just as little reason for doubt in regard to the method pursued by the Aramaic papyri (Xerxes-Darius II) and the Murašu tablets (Artaxerxes I and Darius II). Lidzbarski's statement notwithstanding, *they postdate throughout*. True, Meyer, having only the Murašu tablets for Artaxerxes I (cf. *loc. cit.*, 466), assumed on the basis of a slightly misunderstood statement of Hilprecht's (cf. p. 483) and in accordance with the general scheme as by him reconstructed, that this was not the case. But now we have documents which show beyond question that Meyer was mistaken in this assumption. We have in Papyrus B (cf. above) the formula for the accession year of Artaxerxes I (equated with Xerxes' 21st year), which Meyer supposed did not exist. And we have in Clay's edition of the Murašu tablets for Darius II's reign (*The Babylonian Exped. of the Univ. of Penn.*, Series A, X, 1904) *six* tablets from the accession year of Darius II (the regular formula SAG-NAM-LUGAL-E, equated in No. 5 with Artaxerxes' 41st year), which Meyer likewise supposed did not exist. The assured dates (from Papyri E, F, H, J, and K) in the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II found above show precisely the same

thing. This makes it practically certain that the somewhat less assured dates follow the same scheme. It is this scheme which makes the dates Thoth 17=Kislew 18=January 2, 465 for Papyrus B, the fifth year of Artaxerxes instead of the scribe's sixth in D (and C), and Mechir=Siwan=May 15-June 4/5, 458 for the stela, *RES*, No. 438, almost as certain as the other dates. Moreover we know that Cambyses' years were reckoned in Egypt in contemporary documents precisely as they were reckoned in Babylon, i.e., by the postdating system (cf. Wiedemann, *Gesch. Aegyptens*, 219). Now why, in the face of all this evidence, one should assume that the two Xerxes dates alone in Papyri SC, A and B follow a different method from their cuneiform brethren (many of which themselves have Aramaic dockets), unless it be under the influence of a preconceived set of dates, is really quite unintelligible. Such juggling with dates as Meyer assumes the Babylonian chronographers and the Ptolemaic canon to have done in the case of Darius I and Xerxes is not inconceivable in the case of chronographers or of the compilers of purely artificial chronological lists; but that such things were done in contemporary documents representing the transactions of everyday life may not be assumed except for the very gravest reasons, and Meyer himself is far from assuming this to be the case (*Forsch.* II, 484). The simple fact of the matter, of course, is that all the known contemporary documents with which we have to deal, those in Meyer's list (*Forsch.* II, 464-66) and those which have since been added in the Aramaic papyri and in the Murašû tablets of Darius II's reign (Clay, *op. cit.*) as well, follow the postdating method, and our determination of dates from this material must follow, not precede, this finding.

For such determination of dates it is necessary, first of all, to find, if possible, one or more fixed points in the series of kings' reigns furnished by the documents in question. One of the best of these is the eclipse of the moon, for which the *Almagest* and the cuneiform tablet, Strassmayer, *Cambyses*, No. 400, offer us the date Tammuz 14=Phamenoth 17/18 of Cambyses' 7th year=July 16, 523 (cf. Meyer, *Forsch.* II, 455). Nearly, if not quite, as certainly established is the very beginning of the period with which this inquiry deals, the Achaemenid-Persian rule over Babylon; Cyrus captures Babylon Tišri

16 (*ca.* October 10), enters in triumph Marcheswan 3 (*ca.* October 27), 539. The remainder of 539, therefore, is his accession year; his first year begins Nisan 1, 538. At the other end of the series, as furnished by the documents under consideration, we have the dates of the Aramaic papyri, to which the equation of the conventionalized Egyptian dates with the astronomically determined Jewish dates gives an element of astronomical certainty and fixity. From these we derive the following: Xerxes, 15th year=December 19, 472–December 18, 471, Egyptian, Nisan 1, 471–Adar 29/30, 470 Jewish-Babylonian; Xerxes, 21st year=Artaxerxes I, accession year=Nisan 1, 465–ult. Adar, 464; Artaxerxes I, 5th year=461/60 Egyptian, 460/59 Jewish-Babylonian; *idem* 7th year=459/58, Egyptian, 458/7, Jew.-Bab., *idem*, 19th year=447/6, Egyptian, 446/5 Jew.-Bab.; *idem*, 25th year=441/0, Egyptian, 440/39 Jew.-Bab.; Darius II, 4th year=421/20 Egyptian, 420/19 Jew.-Bab.; *idem*, 8th year=417/6, Egyptian, 416/5 Jew.-Bab.; *idem*, 9th year=416/5 Egyptian, 415/4, Jew.-Bab.; *idem*, 13th year=412/1 Egyptian, 411/0 Jew.-Bab.; *idem*, 14th year, 411/10 Egyptian, 410/09 Jew.-Bab. The difference between the Egyptian and the Jewish-Babylonian dating as here exhibited is caused, of course, by the difference in year-forms above developed. This will serve to explain the similar difference between the dates of the Ptolemaic canon and those of the documents, as exhibited in parallel columns below.

To make these fixed points of use for the intervening space or spaces, it is further necessary to establish the continuity of the years given between these points, or their lack of continuity, finding as nearly as possible the points at which the breaks occur. In the case of documents dated by monarchic reigns, like those under consideration, it is not necessary in order to establish continuity to have a document or date for each year, as it would be in the case of an annually changing eponymate. All that is really needed is the first year of a king's reign and his last, correctly enumerated and equated with the successor's accession year. This looks like a simple enough process. And so, in fact, in most instances it is. Before proceeding, however, to the development of this phase of the evidence, it becomes necessary once more to take issue with Ed. Meyer upon a point of method in procedure, where it would seem the master had

nodded. He constantly speaks and reckons (*Forsch.*, *loc. cit.*, esp. p. 473 for Cyrus and Cambyses, and 483 for Artaxerxes I) as though the proper way to establish the actual end of a king's reign were to find the last document dated under him. That this is not the case, we have now proof positive in documents, some of which Ed. Meyer did not have. These are the documents from Artaxerxes I's 41st year = Darius II's accession year. They show that the year 41 meant is not, as Meyer had assumed, by the antedating process the year 425/4, the year previous to Darius' accession, but Darius' accession year itself, which can be no other than 424/3. Now we know that actually, between the death of Artaxerxes and the accession of Darius, some 8–9 months intervened (Xerxes II and Sogdianus, cf. the histories, e.g., Meyer, *Forsch.* V, 482 f.). Yet there can now be no question that people continued throughout these 8 or 9 months after his death to date by Artaxerxes. And not only that, but even after people had recognized Darius' accession and begun to date by him—the first such dates being one on Šebaṭ 4 and two on Šebaṭ 15—another tablet slips in on Šebaṭ 17 which dates by Artaxerxes alone (cf. Clay, *op. cit.*, 2). This shows that the thing of prime importance in finding from documents using the postdating method the boundaries between kings, is not the last date of the predecessor, but the first date of the successor; that we cannot say: The last document dated by this king bears this date, therefore he must have reigned until this date or very nearly so, but what we can say, is: This is the first date by this king, therefore his accession cannot be later than this; that we must expect the datings by the predecessor to overlap into the successor's reign, while the reverse, in the case of regular succession after the demise of the predecessor, cannot be true (the case of an insurrection and of divided allegiance is only a seeming exception). Analogous to this is the way in which not a few people will slip 1909 dates into the first days of 1910, but very few indeed will date 1910 in the last days of 1909. In other words we must always reckon with the possibility, in fact, we must rather frequently expect to find, that after the accession of a new king, some people, because they had not heard or did not believe the news of the old king's demise or of the new one's accession, or because they feared the new one was a

pretender, or simply because they made a mistake, would still continue to date by the old king, of whom they were sure, and to whom they had grown accustomed.

Proceeding now with our investigation, we find quite what was to be expected, with the wealth of material on hand, namely, not only are there no lacunae, but there is an actual surplus for the intervening space between the fixed points above indicated. Between the accession year of Cyrus, 539/8, and the 7th year of Cambyses, 523/2, lie 15 years. Six of these must be given to Cambyses, making his first year 529/8. Cambyses' accession must have taken place in 530/29. This leaves 9 years for Cyrus. And 9 years is what the bulk of the tablets dated after him give to Cyrus. The continuous series of Cyrus tablets run to Tammuz 7th of his 9th year. The first accession year tablet of Cambyses in our possession is dated Ab 12. Between these two dates in the year 530 the accession of Cambyses would seem to have taken place. But there is a small number of further dates which point to disturbed and unusual conditions in connection with this accession. The Cambyses tablets Nos. 35, 42, 46, 81 are dated in the first year of Cambyses, king of Babylon, but connect the name of Cyrus with that of Cambyses, two of them by means of the formula, "while Cyrus his father was king of the lands." Further, there is certainly one (Strassmayer, *Leyd. Cong.* No. 17, dated Adar 12) and possibly another (the celebrated Cambyses No. 97; cf. Meyer, 472, note 1; but see also Prašek, *Forschungen*, I, 25) dated in the 10th year of Cyrus. This evidence, especially in view of the fact that Cyrus probably did meet his death on a distant and dangerous expedition into the Northeast (so much, at least, of Herodotus' story, I: 211-14, may very well be true) does seem to be best interpreted by Meyer and the older men as pointing to a somewhat unusual procedure on the part of Cyrus, namely that on the eve of his departure he appointed Cambyses as viceroy and as successor in case of his own death. Whether the tablet Cyrus No. 16, which seems to be dated in the first year of Cyrus, king of the lands, "while Cambyses was King of Babylon," is simply a clumsy, bungling attempt of the scribe to designate the same state of affairs as the others, or whether it actually refers to another similar act on the part of Cyrus in his first year, 538/7, is not easy to decide. Its isolation makes the first

explanation rather more probable, yet the Nabonidus Chronicle (Col. IV, ll. 24-28) makes it highly probable that at the Zagmuku festival, 538, Cambyzes acted as Cyrus' representative in Babylon. But the further deduction of Meyer, that on account of the date on the tablet, Strassmayer, *Leyd. Cong.* No. 17, Cyrus cannot have met his death before Adar 12, 528, is certainly wrong, as has been shown above. Be it that his army was as signally defeated as Herodotus says, and that only a straggling remnant with uncertain news reached home, or be it that the bulk of the army remained in the field in spite of Cyrus' death, or whatever way one will, if Cyrus actually died in a far and unknown land, it is not at all surprising that the news of his death should be slow to be disseminated and accredited at home in Babylon. All that can be said on the basis of the evidence now in hand is that Cyrus' death probably occurred somewhere between Tammuz 27, 530 and Adar 12, 528.

The next interval, that between the 7th year of Cambyzes, 523/2, and the 15th year of Xerxes, 471/0, is not so easily filled in. This is an interval of 51 years. To cover it we have tablets dated in the 8th year of Cambyzes, tablets of the accession year and the first year of Smerdis (Barzia-Gaumata), tablets which probably reckon by the accession year and the first year of Nebuchadrezzar III, Nidintubel, tablets of Darius I, accession-year 36, and Xerxes' accession-year 5, probably 9. It is, of course, purely accidental that no tablets from the following years are extant. A new find any day may bring such dates to light, as the Aramaic finds in Egypt have given us Xerxes' 15th and 21st years. But, tablets or no tablets, we must unquestionably count 14 Xerxes years between his accession and his 15th year. Now it is perfectly obvious that some of these dates must be synchronous, for, if they followed each other in regular succession, as the dates of predecessor and successor, the accession year of the successor being always simply equated with the last year of the predecessor, this would give us a total of 53 years. It is quite clear, furthermore, which are the disturbing elements—the pretenders Smerdis and Nidintubel.* That the latter's accession and first year are synchronous with the same dates for

* The other pretenders of the Behistun inscription, etc., are passed over as irrelevant in this connection. It is doubtful whether any contract tablets at all were dated after them, while the data of the Behistun inscription leave no room for doubt that they fall within Darius' reign.

Darius I, the Behistun inscription places beyond doubt. There remains only the problem of Smerdis. On the exact position of his reign the data of the Behistun inscription are not so clear. One thing, however, they do establish with perfect clearness, and that is that Darius' accession cannot precede, but must succeed immediately, the death of Smerdis. Darius' accession year = Smerdis' last, i.e., his first year. Which is Darius' accession year? The serene flow of the years of Darius I, once he had established his rule, and of Xerxes I (in whose reign the little revolution of Šamaširba scarcely created a ripple; cf. Meyer, *Forsch.* V, 476 f.) leaves no doubt as to this. Counting back, simply, from 471/0 as the 15th year of Xerxes, 14 years for Xerxes and 36 years for Darius, we arrive at 522/1 as the accession year of Darius. But 522/1 is plainly also Cambyses' 8th year. Smerdis' first year is synchronous with Cambyses' 8th year; his accession year, from the Iyyar of which we have one tablet, is Cambyses' 7th year, 523/2. In the early months of 523, the Adar preceding Nisan 1, the revolt was begun; after Nisan 1 Smerdis announced his accession. This tallies well, as Prašek has seen, with the data of the Behistun inscription and with the course of history. Adar 523, precisely when Cambyses was farthest away, on the disastrous march to Ethiopia, was a most auspicious time for Smerdis to inaugurate his revolt. During the year 523/2 the effects of the disaster in the far south and the unrest in Egypt would keep Cambyses occupied. During the year 522/1 (probably in Ab = July-August) Cambyses died on his way to suppress the revolt. Thus the evidence of the Aramaic papyri confirms the results of Prašek's brilliant investigation (Prašek, *Forschungen*, I, 18-30). Against this contemporary evidence the secondary statements of Herodotus (best explained by Prašek, *loc. cit.*) cannot stand. And Meyer's deductions, *Forschungen*, II, 472 f., cannot stand. The two lone tablets of the 8th and 11th months of Cambyses' 8th year do not prove that he lived until then. The course of events, as above set forth, makes that quite impossible. That careful or timid souls in this year of pretenders and revolutions and murders should have found it wisest and safest to date by the old king until the situation and the news cleared somewhat, is not at all surprising. And not only in the matter of Cambyses' death is Meyer at fault, but because

he did not recognize the true state of affairs in regard to Smerdis' revolution, his dates for Smerdis, for Darius throughout, and those for Xerxes' accession are all one full year too late. Hence his troubles with the Ptolemaic canon and the documents, as above outlined. These troubles vanish completely, as does the supposed difference between the dates of the canon and the documents, with the interpretation of the evidence just given, the correctness of which appears most clearly in the new light shed upon it by the Egypto-Aramaic papyri. For the rest, throughout the remainder of Xerxes' and Artaxerxes I's reign, all is fairly plain sailing, until we come to the date of Artaxerxes' death. Here the concise brevity of Thucydides (IV:50) in connection with a mistaken conception of the dates furnished by the documents (the assumption of antedating places all the dates one full year too early) seems again to have betrayed Meyer into error. Meyer assumes as certain that Artaxerxes died December, 425, or January, 424. Now, however, we know that the 41st year of the documents is not, as Meyer thought, 425/4, but 424/3. It would appear strange in itself, if Artaxerxes had actually died some two months before the beginning of the year 424/3, that people should have gone on dating by him almost throughout this entire year (the dates run continuously to Šebat 17), completely ignoring his son Xerxes II, who would in this case have had both an accession year and a first year. But in addition to this such historical data as we have for this period make it fairly certain that Meyer's date is some months too early. Diodorus, whose information at this point is rather full, has a note (XII:71) giving as the length of Xerxes II's reign 2 months and that of Sogdianus 7 months. Now the first accession tablet of Darius II is dated Šebat 4. This makes it certain that Darius' accession cannot have taken place later than this. And the fact that we actually have a tablet dated after Artaxerxes alone on Šebat 3 makes it rather probable that Darius' accession was not much earlier, say at the beginning of Šebat (cf. Clay, *loc. cit.*). Allowing, between this and the death of Artaxerxes, for the 9 months of Diodorus gives the end of Nisan, March/April, 424, as the most probable date for the old king's demise. This makes intelligible the attitude of the documents in completely ignoring the brief

reign of Xerxes II and that of the unpopular Sogdianus, who was probably never recognized in Babylon and vicinity. And in the light of this evidence, it is doing no violence to Thucydides' statement to stretch his ὕστερον and his κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον over a somewhat longer period of time than Meyer allows. For the reign of Darius II, there is only one further passage in Thucydides (VIII: 58) which causes a little trouble. He gives there the text of a treaty concluded in c. February, or possibly March, 411, between Tissaphernes and the Lacedaemonians and dated in the 13th year of Darius. Five explanations are possible: (1) Tissaphernes, in his dealings with the Greeks, may have adopted the Greek year-form, counting the year as beginning September-October, instead of in the following March-April. (2) Little time need be allowed to make the time of the conclusion of the treaty fall very near the actual beginning of Darius' 13th year in March-April. (3) The treaty may have been concluded with the understanding that it was to go into effect only with the beginning of Darius' 13th year. (4) The wily Tissaphernes may have allowed the Greeks to think of the year as beginning the previous October, while for him it would not begin until 6 months later; or (5) finally, the most probable explanation may be that promulgation or publication was delayed until after the beginning of Darius' 13th year. At any rate this statement, after all secondary, cannot overthrow the first-hand information of the cuneiform and Aramaic documents. These, it is true, carry us in the Murašû tablets only through the 13th, in the Aramaic business documents likewise through the 13th, in the Berlin papyri through the 17th year of this king. But as to the position of these years their testimony is clear. And that Darius II actually lived to see his 19th year, 405/4, the statement of Diodorus (XIII:108) and of the Ptolemaic canon leaves no room to doubt. Nor need any other, at best but secondary, information of Manetho or Christian chronographers or Greek historians, as at present known, be considered.

Below is given, first a conspectus in parallel columns of (a) a king's canon derived from the documents; (b) the Ptolemaic canon; (c) an 18-year list from Parthian times (cf. Meyer, *Forsch.* II, 856; Strassmayer, *ZA*, VII:199 and VIII:16) and then a list of actual dates, established as probable or certain by the above examination.

<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>
Cyrus (alone), 9 years, Nisan 1, 538- ult. Adar, 529	Cyrus, 9 years, January 5, 538- January 2, 529	[8] Cyrus 18=531/0
Cambyses, 8 years, Nisan 1, 529- ult. Adar, 521	Cambyses, 8 years, January 3, 529- December 31, 522	
[? Cyrus 10=Cambyses 1, Nisan 1, 529- ult. Adar, 528]		
[Smerdis, 1 year=Cambyses 8, Nisan 1, 522- ult. Adar, 521]		
Darius I, 36 years, Nisan 1, 521- ult. Adar, 485	Darius I, 36 years, January 1, 521- December 22, 486	9 Darius 18=513/2 27 Darius 18=495/4
[Nidintubel, 1 year=Darius I, 1, Nisan 1, 521- ult. Adar, 521]		
Xerxes, 21 years, Nisan 1, 485- ult. Adar, 464	Xerxes, 21 years, December 23, 486- December 16, 465	9 Xerxes 18=477/6
Artaxerxes I, 41 years, Nisan 1, 464- ult. Adar, 423	Artaxerxes I, 41 years, December 17, 465- December 6, 424	6 Artaxerxes 18=459/8 24 Artaxerxes 18=441/0
Darius II, 19 years, Nisan 1, 423- ult. Adar, 404	Darius II, 19 years, December 7, 424- December 1, 405	[1 Darius 18]=423/2 19 Darius 18=405/4

LIST OF ACTUAL DATES

- 539 October, Cyrus captures Babylon.
- 530 July/August, Cambyes appointed king.
- 529 (probably) Cyrus dies in the far northeast.
- 525 Cambyes conquers Egypt.
- 523 March, Smerdis revolts; Cambyes on the campaign against Ethiopia.
March/April, Smerdis assumes title and throne.
- 522 July/August, Cambyes dies.
October, Smerdis killed; Darius assumes the crown; Nidintubel, pre-
tender in Babylon.
- 486 Darius dies. Xerxes king.
(The change of rulers probably took place late in 486.)
- 465 Summer, Xerxes killed; Artaxerxes king.
- 424 March/April, Artaxerxes dies. Xerxes II.
May/June, Xerxes II dies. Sogdianus.
- 423 January, Sogdianus killed. Darius II.
- 404 Winter or early spring, Darius II dies.

BENHADAD AND HADADEZER

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Ever since the decipherment of the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II of Assyria (860-25 B.C.), in which he mentions his defeat at *Ḳarḳar* of the Syrian allies headed by Adad (^{lu}IM)-'idri (= Hadadezer) of Damascus, with Ahab of Israel and other kings as vassals, attempts have been made to harmonize the supposed differences between the Assyrian and Old Testament records. It was at once noticed that the name of the king of Syria, contemporary with Ahab of Israel, was Benhadad in the Hebrew narrative (I Kings, chaps. 20 and 22), but Adad-'idri in the cuneiform. It was assumed that the same person must be referred to in both accounts, and consequently attempts were made to show that the names were really the same. As we shall see below, the reason for assuming the identity of the two names was based upon the assumption that chaps. 20 and 22 of I Kings relate events all of which must have fallen within the last five years of Ahab's reign. In our discussion of the problems involved, it may be well to consider (1) the question of names and (2) the historical problem.

I. BENHADAD-HADADEZER

It is a well-known fact that in the Old Testament account of Ahab's Syrian wars, I Kings, chaps. 20 f., the name of the king of Syria is given as Benhadad, while in Shalmaneser's account of his campaigns in Syria the name of the king of Damascus with whom Ahab of Israel and a number of other Syrian princes had formed a defensive alliance against the common enemy Assyria, is given as ^{lu}IM-'idri. This name has been read differently as Bir-'idri, Dadda-'idri or Adad-'idri. As we shall see from the following discussion, these different readings are the results of attempts to explain why the Hebrew form of the name is different from that of the cuneiform inscriptions. Since Dadda-'idri and Adad-'idri are really the same (see below), we may divide this section of our discussion into three parts, dealing with the readings Bir-'idri and Adad-'idri, and finally with the name Benhadad.

1. Bir-'idri.—It should be stated at the outset that the only reason why this reading was ever proposed was because scholars have been unanimous in holding that Benhadad (II) of I Kings, chaps. 20 f., and ^{lu}IM-'idri of Shalmaneser's inscriptions are one and the same person. The reading was an attempt to harmonize the two accounts. The reading Bir for the ideogram ^{lu}IM was proposed by Delitzsch, *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, II, 161 f., and the name read Bir-'idri, "Bir (d. i. der Luft- und Himmels-gott) ist mein Schmuck, meine Zier." This reading was then declared to be the same as the Hebrew form Benhadad, which should be read Bin- or Bir-hader (ḥidri) in view of the Septuagint which reads *ἰὺς* "Ἄδερ, that is, בן־דדר instead of בן־דדר. Delitzsch has since tacitly abandoned this reading.¹ Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3d ed., 133, and elsewhere, still holds to this solution of the problem. Zimmern, in his part of the last-named volume, p. 446, discussed the readings Bir, Bur, Mir, and Mur as names of the weather-god IM = Adad (Hadad), and concluded that there was little evidence for these readings. However, in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, 299 f., he again takes up the discussion and concludes that the evidence now seems to him to point the other way, and that there probably *was* an Aramaic god בר whose name was given in cuneiform as ^{lu}IM. With such uncertainty on the part of the Assyriologists, it is not surprising that Old Testament scholars are in doubt as to which side to take. So, for example, Kittel, in the second edition (1909) of his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II, 355 f., wavers between Dadda-idri, Dadda (Bir)-idri, Benhadad Bir-idri and Benhadad-Hadadezer.

Is Bir (בר) a possible reading of the ideogram ^{lu}IM? That is, was there a west-Semitic, Aramaic god Bir whose name the Assyrian scribes rendered in cuneiform by the ideogram ^{lu}IM? As has already been stated, Delitzsch merely assumed the reading Bir as possible in view of the names we are discussing. Likewise Winckler was unable to bring any positive evidence for this reading.² Zim-

¹ *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, 624.

² Both Delitzsch's and Winckler's arguments were based chiefly upon the name Bur-Rammān. But we now know that the element Bur means "offspring," see below, p. 274. (Winckler's discussion is found in his *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, 69 f.) If this element were the name of a deity the determinative ^{lu} would stand before it as it stands before Rammān.

mern now holds that such a reading is possible in view of the names Bar-Şur (ברצור) and Bar-Rekub (בררכב) of the Senjirli inscriptions. Nathaniel Schmidt, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXIX, 63 f., sees in the name (Kadesh)-Barnea (ברנע) evidence of a god Bar or Bir (בר), as well as in ברלע, ברשע (Gen. 14:2)³ and certain proper names occurring in the Amarna letters: Biiri, Buribita, Biridiya, Biridašia, Biriawaza and Burşelem. Let us examine these names.

As stated, the names Bar-Şur and Bar-Rekub are found in the Senjirli inscriptions (cf. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 171 f.): "This statue Bar-Rekub placed to his father Panammu, son of Bar-Şur," etc., p. 173; "I am Bar-Rekub, son of Panammu," etc., p. 181. Cooke, p. 165, translates the name Bar-Rekub as "son of Rekub-(el)." The name of a deity Rekub-el⁴ occurs in these same inscriptions, and Cooke's suggestion that Rekub in Bar-Rekub is a shortened form of Rekub-el is certainly most probable.⁵ So the name Bar-Şur means "son of Şur." The god Şur is vouched for by the biblical proper name פורחצור, Num. 1:10, and the place name ביתצור, Josh. 15:58.⁶ In *KAT*³, 477, Zimmern uses the name Bar-Şur (ברצור) to prove the existence of a god Şur, "rock," while in the *HAV*, 302, he uses the same name to prove the possibility of the existence of an Aramaic god Bar (בר). The name can hardly be used to prove both, and, since the god Şur is sufficiently well attested, we may safely put aside the two names ברצור and בררכב as furnishing no evidence for the existence of a god Bar (בר). As we shall see below, the element בר = son is common in proper names.

The names cited by Schmidt are, it seems to the writer, still less to the point. Taking the names he has gathered from the

³ Schmidt thinks ברלע, and not ברשע, was the original name of the king of Sodom; cf. certain LXX readings Βαλλα and Βαπλα.

⁴ The vocalization of this name is of course doubtful. Other readings Rakka-b-el, Rekab-el, have been proposed. The name means chariot or steed, or perhaps charioteer, of El.

⁵ Note that in this same inscription (p. 161) we have first the names of the deities "Hadad and El and Reshef and Rekub-el and Shamash," l. 2, but "Hadad and El and Rekub-el and Shamash and Arqu-reshef," l. 11. If we follow Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, 282 f., in making Jacob a shortened form of Jacob-el (cf. Jephthah with Jephthah-el, Josh. 19:14), and regard Jacob as having been at one time a deity, we have parallels in this and similar Old Testament names.

⁶ Cooke, *op. cit.*, 175.

Amarna letters first: (1) Bi-e-ri. This name should perhaps rather be compared with Hebrew בִּיאֵר, father of Hosea. At any rate, the name contains a long vowel between the ב and the ר, which is nowhere indicated in the names which have so far been brought forward as possibly containing the element בר. (2) The name Buribita, which is next cited, is to be read Aḫribta.⁷ As for the names Biridya, Biridašwa, Biriama, it is doubtful whether any are even Semitic.⁸ The same may be said of the place name Bu-ru-zi-lim which has been transformed by Winckler into Buru-šilim and used as evidence of the existence of a god Šelem (see KAT³, 477).⁹ None of these names can be used as evidence of a god בר. The same may be said of the names (Kadesh)-Barnea, ברנע, Birsha¹⁰ (ברשע, LXX, Βαρσα), king of Gomorrah, Gen. 14:2, and ברלע, king of Sodom.¹¹ Schmidt's suggested etymologies might be possible if the existence of a god בר had been demonstrated, but this is far from being the case.

⁷ Schmidt follows Winckler's readings, but these must now be corrected in many cases by the readings furnished by Knudtzon's edition of the Amarna letters.

⁸ It has long been observed that many of the proper names of the Amarna letters are non-Semitic. Some are Indo-Germanic, others Hittite or Mitannian. Cf. the writer's article "Some Hittite and Mitannian Personal Names," *AJSL*, January, 1910, 96 f. So names like Artatama are clearly Iranian; cf. the Persian names 'Aprābavos, 'Aprayīštes, 'Aprakāmas, 'Apraḫēšēs. Others seem to be neither Semitic, Hittite-Mitannian nor Indo-European, but seem to be analogous to the "pre-Greek," Karian, Lydian, Phrygian, etc., names of Greece and western Asia Minor, collected and arranged in Kretschmer's *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*. If, as the writer believes, the endings -wa and -ma in these names are the same, then a name like Biridašwa is to be compared with such names as Barḫulluwa, Etagama (*AJSL*, January, 1910, 97 f.), and with the names with *m*-suffix in Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, 322 f. The name Biriama is clearly similar in form to Akizzi, Sizzi, Sissi, Papassi, Kirbassi, Mattiuaza, Namiawazi (*AJSL*, *ibid.*, 96 f.), all of which are to be compared with the names with *s*-suffixes in Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, 311 f. In the article quoted the writer followed E. Meyer in regarding Mattiuaza as probably Aryan (Iranian), p. 101, but further study has convinced him that it would be better to regard many of these names merely as "pre-Greek," without specifying whether they are Iranian or Hittite. This change of attitude on the part of the writer was occasioned in particular by the resemblance of the ending -waza to the ending of such names as Μερικανασα, Εριuasas, Kretschmer, p. 315; Βδευασis, 'Εριονασis, Κιδανονασis, Οδασis, Τερβευασis, etc., *ibid.*, 316, 317; 'Ακτανασis, 'Αρυσασis, Παρυσασis, *ibid.*, 321, 322. For the ending -ya of Biridya, cf. my article, under "Akiya."

⁹ That Buruzilim is to be read Buru-šilim (šelem) is not altogether improbable. However, the *m* on the end of this word may be *mimmatum*, not a radical. If it were a radical we should expect a reading like Buruzilimi; cf., however, the Amarna writing of Jerusalem, Urusalim.

¹⁰ It has been suggested that these names are late insertions in the text; cf. Skinner, *Genesis*, 259.

¹¹ Since ברלע is only a hypothetical reading (see note 3), there are only two names which need be considered. The writer has no suggestion as to the etymology of ברנע or ברשע. Meyer, *Israeliten*, 80, n. 1, suggests that Barnea "ist wohl der profane Name des Orts," as distinguished from the name Kadesh = "the sanctuary."

There is another line of evidence, which, while negative, still seems to the writer to weigh against the probability that the ideogram ^{ilu}IM stood for a west-Semitic deity 𐤇𐤌. In Vols. XXIV and XXV of the *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum*, Mr. King has published extensive lists of Babylonian-Assyrian deities compiled by the Babylonian priests, in which are given the different names by which these deities were known, their attributes, as well as the current identifications of foreign with Babylonian deities. So for example in Vol. XXV, Pl. 16, we have a list of names by which the god IM was known. In l. 16, he is identified with Addu, and in the next line with Dadu, while explanatory notes add that these were his names in Amurru. Now Amurru was the general name for Syria-Palestine in the Assyrian period of Old Testament history, in which period these lists of deities were compiled. In the same place we also find ^{ilu}IM identified with the god Tešub of Subartu (roughly speaking, Mesopotamia), the Cassite god Buriaš, and others. In Vol. XXIV, Pl. 32, we find nine deities identified with ^{ilu}IM; Pl. 40, eleven more (the tablet is broken; there were more identifications here); Vol. XXV, Pls. 6 f., forty-one. Besides these there are other stray references. We have thus more than sixty names which are identified with ^{ilu}IM, including the well-known variant names of the west-Semitic weather-god Adad (Hebrew Hadad), Addu, Dadu, as well as Amurru (MAR-TU). As already stated, these lists have explanatory notes in connection with the names of foreign deities identified with ^{ilu}IM. But these lists do not include a name Bir.¹²

¹² The lists, however, show that there was a god Mir or Mur, identified with ^{ilu}IM. (But there is nothing to indicate that he is of west-Semitic origin, a possibility mentioned below.) See Vol. XXIV, Pl. 16, l. 8; Pl. 17, l. 30; Pl. 18, rev., l. 2; Pl. 32, ll. 119-20; also King in the Introduction to Vol. XXIV, pp. 11 f. (The names in Vol. XXIV have been tabulated by Michatz, *Die Gotterlisten der Serie An iluA-nu-um*.) The existence of a god Mir does not, however, prove the existence of one Bir, as Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 77, n. 1, argued. In Vol. XXV, Pls. 16 f., l. 8, we have the name of a god Pi-ir, and l. 32, l-lu-pi-ir. The name may be a variant of Mir, since the sign pi may be read me (Brünnow, 7963). The god ^{ilu}BE-ir (*III R*, 66, 26d, also *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, 567) cannot be identified with Adad, even if the reading of this name should turn out to be Ber, for as Meissner observed, it is not probable that we should have the same deity called upon twice in succession in an oath formula, as would be the case if we identified BE-ir with IM (Adad). The oath formula reads, "By Ašur, Adad, BE-ir, the Assyrian Bēl and the Assyrian Ištar, etc." For a discussion of the ideograms ^{ilu}IM-RA and ^{ilu}MIR-RA, see Ranke, *Personal Names*, 202. Whether Mur, Mir, MIR-RA, IM-RA, may not turn out to be variant forms of Amurru is a question which cannot be discussed here. The reading Immēru, suggested by Thureau-Dangin for IM-RA, would not conflict with such an identification.

It is of course possible that the name occurred on those parts of the tablets which have been lost, but there is a strong probability that, if there had been a west-Semitic god Bir or Bur known to the Assyrian scribes, his name would appear together with those of Addu, Dadu, and Amurru on Pl. 16 of Vol. XXV. The fact to be borne in mind is that, after all, the existence of a deity Bir or Bur¹³ has never been demonstrated but merely *inferred*.

2. Adad-'idri = Hadadezer.—Schrader, as early as 1878, proposed the correct reading of this name, and called attention to the fact that the name is the same as that of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, mentioned in II Sam. 8:3 f.¹⁴ The ideogram ^{11u}IM, formerly read Rammân¹⁵ by Assyriologists, is now always to be read Adad¹⁶ unless there are definite reasons for some other reading, that is to say, Adad is the ordinary name of the weather-god in Assyrian. Addu, Addi, and Dadda are variants of the same name, as is also the Hebrew and Aramaic form Hadad.¹⁷ There can be little doubt, then, that when Shalmaneser's scribes wrote ^{11u}IM-'idri, they pronounced the name Adad-'idri.

The second element of the name, 'idri, which is the regular cuneiform rendering of the Aramaic עדר, Hebrew עֵדֶר, is now

¹³ The element Bur, see below, found in many proper names, means "offspring."

¹⁴ Second edition of his *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 200 f., and *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, II, 365 f.

¹⁵ Rammân (cf. Hebrew Rimmon) was an epithet of the weather-god Adad, and signifies "the thunderer." The discoveries in Crete and Asia Minor during the last ten years have made it evident that the two chief deities of this whole eastern Mediterranean world were the great mother-goddess, known as Mâ, Ammas, Cybele (Aphrodite-Venus, Ishtar among the Semites), and the weather-god, known by different names. The Hittites and Mitannians called him Tešub (see above, p. 271), the Amorites called him Amurru (MAR-TU) or Adad, which was also the name by which the Assyrians knew him. As already indicated, Rammân is an epithet meaning "the thunderer." Many statues and reliefs of this god have been found in Asia Minor (see Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, Pl. LXXVII), on which he is generally represented as carrying the double-ax (a symbol found all over Crete and Asia Minor) or a three-forked bolt of lightning. The Greeks gave him different names, such as Ζεύς Ἐρπῆριος, Ζεύς Σπορτῆριος, Κεραυνίος, all of which show his strenuous character. See Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II², 635 f., 711 f. Gressmann, in his *Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, has pointed out the fact that the god of the Israelites, Yahweh, was predominantly a god of lightnings and the storm, and his resemblance to Hadad is really so close that some scholars see in him a local form of this western-Asiatic weather-god (Ward, *AJSL*, XXV [1909], 175 f.).

¹⁶ King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, I, pp. lxxiv f.

¹⁷ Hadad is the chief deity of the Senjirli inscriptions; cf. Cooke, *op. cit.*, 159 f. The name Hadad-Rimmôn, Zach. 12:11, combines the name and epithet of the god. Cf. Tab-Rimmôn, I Kings 15:18. Naaman's master worshiped in the house of Rimmôn, II Kings 6:15 f.

known as an element of many Mesopotamian personal names of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Examples are Atar-idri, Bêl-harrâni-idri, Ilu-idri, Milki-idri, Samsi-idri, etc.¹⁸ There remains no reason for reading ^{lu}IM-'idri in any other way than Adad-'idri = Hadadezer.

It remains to be seen why the Hebrew name Benhadad should *not* be changed to Bir-hader = Bir-idri. That is, why the form בִּיהַדָּד should not be changed to בִּיהַדָּר or בִּיהַדָּר. We have already seen why Winckler considers the masoretic writing the result of "Umdeutung und Verschreibung" of the supposed form Bir-'idri. He was attempting to identify the name Benhadad of I Kings, 20 f., with Adad-'idri of Shalmaneser's inscriptions. But with the possibility of the reading Bir-'idri gone, some other explanation must be looked for in case the two names actually refer to the same person. Before taking up this problem, let us look at the name Benhadad.

3. Benhadad.—Benhadad means "son of Hadad." The Aramaic form would be Barhadad. We have already referred to the names Bar-Šur and Bar-Rekub of the Senjirli inscriptions. In II Kings 13:24 f., we have an account of the activities of Benhadad, son of Hazael. In all probability this same Benhadad son of Hazael is mentioned in the inscription of Zakir (vocalization doubtful) king of Hamath, only in the Aramaic form, as we should expect, בִּיהַדָּד.¹⁹ It is true that Zimmern, *HAV*, 300 f., believes that this name in Pognon's inscription should possibly be read בִּיהַדָּר (the ר and the ד are nearly alike in the inscription), but the conclusion he reaches is that "die Lesung בִּיהַדָּר zwar nicht unmöglich, jedoch בִּיהַדָּד mindestens ebenso möglich, wenn nicht noch wahrscheinlicher ist." Lidzbarski, the authority on Aramaic inscriptions, to whom Zimmern appealed, also reached the conclusion that the Pognon inscription *may* have to be read בִּיהַדָּר rather than בִּיהַדָּד, but he regards it only as a possibility, not a certainty. We may therefore agree with Zimmern that this inscription does not decide the question definitely as was supposed by some scholars. On the other hand with the evidence of the Old Testament, the names of the Senjirli inscriptions, and as we shall

¹⁸ Cf. Zimmern, *KAT*, 446, n. 1.

¹⁹ Pognon, *Inscr. sémitiques*, 156 f.

see, the names of other Assyrian inscriptions, in favor of the reading בִּרְדָּד, we hold that the presumption is that the name in the Pognon inscription should be read בִּרְדָּד.

The name Barhadad occurs in the Annals of Assurbanipal (668-625). This Assyrian king records that in his ninth campaign he met the Arabs, led by "Uaiti, son of Hazael, son of the uncle (father's brother) of Uaiti, son of Bir-Dadda." As we have seen, the name Dadda is a variant of Adad (Hadad), and Bir is, of course, the equivalent of the Aramaic Bar (son), with the vowel deflected from *a* to *i*. It is tempting to see in these men the descendants of the Damascus family (Benhadad, Hazael) who, when finally driven from Damascus by Tiglath-Pileser IV (732), established themselves in northern Arabia, where they were found by Aššurbanipal.²⁰ At all events there can be no doubt but that we have here the cuneiform equivalent of Benhadad-Barhadad.

Clay, in his *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, 318, favors the view long ago proposed by Pinches in the *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology* (1883), 71 f., that the original name was Ben-Hadad-'idri, the Hebrew preserving the first part of the name, the Assyrian the latter.²¹ This view, which on first sight seems very attractive, does not, however, account for the fact that both the names Benhadad and Adad-'idri (Hadadezer) occur in both the Hebrew and the Assyrian records. It seems better, therefore, to keep the names separate.

The name "son of *some deity*," is very common in the cuneiform inscriptions. This is especially so in the personal names of the time of the first dynasty of Babylon (the so-called Hammurabi dynasty). The prevalence of west-Semitic or "Amorite" names has long been noticed. See especially Ranke, *Personal Names of the Hammurabi Dynasty*, 76 f.; Bur-Aya, "offspring of Aya," Bur-NIN-GAL, Bur-Nunu, Bur-Adad²² (very common), Bur-Sin (also very

²⁰ Hazael, king of Aribi, had paid tribute to Sennacherib and Esarhaddon; upon his death the latter king placed Ia'lu, Hazael's son, upon the throne (Esarhaddon, *Prism A*, col. III).

²¹ Pinches' view is further discussed by him in *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, II, 311 f. See also the objections to this reading by Delitzsch, *ibid.*, 167 f., and Schrader, *ibid.*, 379 f.

²² This name is the same as the name Bur-Rammān, which misled Delitzsch and Winckler, see above. But Bur-^{11u}Ra-ma-na is not the same kind of name as Hadad-Rimmon, בִּרְדָּדִים, as Delitzsch thought, *ZA*, 175. Bur-Rammān means "offspring

common). Similar names are Pirḫu-Amurru (MAR-TU), "offspring of Amurru"; Pirḫi-ilišu, "offspring of his god"; Inbi-ilišu, "fruit of his god"; Abil-ilišu, "son of his god"; Abil-ili, Abil-Ištar, Abil-Amurru, Abil-Šamaš, Abil-Sin, etc.

Summing up: There is no reason for changing Benhadad into Bir-'idri, a form which, as far as the evidence now reaches, is purely *hypothetical*. The name in Shalmaneser's inscriptions, written ^{11u}IM-'idri, is to be read Adad-'idri, that is, the equivalent of the Hebrew Hadadezer. The form Benhadad is to be retained, and compared with Aramaic Barhadad (ܒܪܗܕܕ, Pognon), Bar-Šur, Bar-Rekub,²³ as well as with the Assyrian Bir-Dadda, etc.

The Old Testament account and that of Shalmaneser cannot then be harmonized by identifying Benhadad with ^{11u}IM-'idri by reading both as Bir-idri. Some other solution of this difficulty must be found.

II. THE HISTORICAL PROBLEM

According to I Kings, chap. 20, Benhadad of Syria moved against Samaria and met defeat at the hands of Ahab. The following year he returned, was met by the Israelites at Aphek and was again defeated. This time he was taken prisoner, but because of "Ahab's unseasonable lenity" was released on condition that he restore the cities his father had taken from Ahab's father (Omri), and that the Israelites be allowed to "make streets," that is, have bazaars in Damascus. Thus far chap. 20. As is generally recognized, chap. 21 belongs to a different narrative—the LXX has it before chap. 20. Chap. 22 opens with the words, "And they continued three years without war between Syria and Israel." In the third year Jehoshaphat of Judah, Ahab's ally, joined the Israelitish king in his attempt to take Ramoth-Gilead from the Syrians. In the battle before this city Ahab met his death.

of Ramman"; Hadad-Rimmon, "Hadad is 'the thunderer.'" It is incomprehensible how Huber, *Personennamen*, etc., can regard Bur of Bur.^dIM (Adad), etc., as the name of a deity, p. 172, and at the same time translate the name as Ranke does, "offspring of IM," p. 86. So his god Bir rests upon Hilprecht's assumption discussed above, p. 271. As far as the writer can discover, there is no instance of a name with the element Bur as deity. There certainly is no case in which the determinative for deity stands before this element, which is, of course, the only final test.

²³ This form of name survived even into Christian times in Syria; cf. Bar-Shemesh in the *Doctrine of Addai*.

Shalmaneser, king of Assyria (860-825), tells us that in his sixth year (854) he met and defeated at *Ḳarḳar* the combined forces of the Syrians. At the head of the league was Adad-'idri (Hadadezer, see above) of Damascus, with Ahab of Israel, Irhuleni of Hamath, and others as allies. In his tenth, eleventh,²⁴ and fourteenth years (850-849-846) he was again compelled to meet the armies of this league. Ahab is not mentioned in the accounts of these campaigns.²⁵ In his eighteenth year (842) Hazael is king of Damascus, while Jehu of Israel pays tribute to Shalmaneser. This means that Jehu preferred submission to Assyria to an alliance with Damascus.

It will be observed that the Old Testament does not mention the battle of *Ḳarḳar*, but according to the prevailing interpretation of the Hebrew account in the light of the Assyrian records, the two years' truce mentioned in I Kings 22:1 *follow immediately upon the defeat of Benhadad at Aphek, and leave room for Ahab's presence at Ḳarḳar*. The events of the last five years of Ahab's reign would then have run as follows: 856 or 855, defeats Benhadad at Aphek and makes a treaty with him. Truce for two years, one of which must be 854, the date of the battle of *Ḳarḳar*. Here Ahab is the ally of Hadadezer (according to the prevailing interpretation = Benhadad) of Damascus against Shalmaneser. 853 or 852 Ahab meets his death at Ramoth-Gilead in his effort to take it from the Syrian king.

When one looks at these events more closely, many objections present themselves against the prevailing interpretation of them. Is it probable that the king of Damascus (Adad-'idri of the Assyrian records) who was at the head of the Syrian states for at least 8 years (854-846), during which time he successfully withstood three and perhaps four²⁶ attacks by Shalmaneser of Assyria, should be the same as Benhadad, king of Syria, who according to I Kings, chap. 20, twice met defeat at the hands of Ahab, the second time only escaping with his life because of the generosity of the king of Israel; these two defeats having occurred, according to hypothesis, the third and second, or second and first years before the battle at

²⁴ It is not improbable that there was but one campaign in these two years, that of the eleventh year (Winckler, *KAT*³, 43).

²⁵ Ahab was probably dead in 850. Nor is there any mention of his successor in this rôle.

²⁶ See note 24.

Ḳarḳar? The writer believes that this is not probable, for from the Assyrian account of the battle of Ḳarḳar it is clear that Ahab was the ally of the king of Damascus. Adad-'idri of Damascus had 20,000 troops, Irḡuleni of Hamath and Ahab of Israel 10,000 each, while the other Syrian kings brought troops from 10,000 to 200 in number. These are of course round numbers, and it is very probable that the Assyrian scribe exaggerated here as elsewhere for the greater glory of his king. But in spite of this possibility, the fact remains that the king of Damascus was the head of the league from at least 854 to 846. There is no likelihood at all "that Ahab was the moving spirit in the alliance,"²⁷ nor is it necessary to suppose that he was forced into it.²⁸ Then according to hypothesis, a year or two after the battle of Ḳarḳar, the king of Damascus is in possession of Ramoth-Gilead, one of the cities of his late ally, who meets his death in an effort to recapture it. It is apparent that this hypothesis leaves many things unclear. Without discussing farther the prevailing hypothesis the writer will proceed to give his own view and the reasoning on which it is based.

1. Benhadad of I Kings, chap. 20 is not the same person as the Adad-'idri of Shalmaneser's inscriptions. The fact that the names cannot be equated was shown by the first part of this paper. If, in spite of this, it is held that the same person is meant, either the Assyrian or the Hebrew account has made a mistake in the name of the king of Damascus. Kittel thinks the Assyrian account has the name of the wrong Israelitish king; but this does not help out of the difficulty.²⁹ It is hardly likely that either of the accounts

²⁷ H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, 195.

²⁸ Shortsighted as the Syrian princes undoubtedly were, they could not help seeing that once Damascus, the strongest state among them, fell before the Assyrian advance, it would be but a matter of a year or two until they would meet the same fate. So we may believe that for once they put aside their own differences and presented a solid front against the common enemy. But, as has happened so frequently in history, Damascus probably soon looked upon this voluntary alliance as submission to her superior power and began to treat the allies as subjects. Ahab would of course have been the first to resent this, and, with no Assyrian army threatening, Adad-'idri would feel it necessary to bring Israel into line.

²⁹ Kittel, *op. cit.*, 357 f., leans to the view that the Assyrian account is untrustworthy and that the battle of Ḳarḳar came after the death of Ahab, that is, the Assyrian scribe has the name of the wrong king of Israel. The reason why Kittel holds this view is evident. According to his chronology the death of Ahab fell in the year 855, the year before Ḳarḳar. His arguments are curious: (1) The books of Kings give a great amount of attention to the wars and other activities of Ahab, but little is said of the wars of his successor. Therefore, if Ahab had been at Ḳarḳar, the Old Testament account would

is wrong in the case of either of the kings, for in other places the Assyrian and Hebrew records usually corroborate each other.³⁰

2. The events of I Kings, chap. 20 and those of I Kings, chap. 22 are not necessarily to be separated by only two years (22:1). The writer starts with a fact overlooked by scholars, namely, that the *name* of the king of Syria is not given in chap. 22. At first sight this may seem a point of no importance, but taken into consideration with other points, it may have some weight. In chap. 20, the *name* of the king of Syria is mentioned twelve times (vss. 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 16, 17, 20, 26, 30, 32, 33), over against two instances where he is referred to as *king of Syria* (vs. 22, 23). But vs. 22 is admitted to be a late insertion. On the other hand, in chap. 22, the *name* of the king of Syria is not given at all, but in both cases where he is referred to it is as *king of Syria*.³¹ This point need not be pressed, but in connection with the points given above (1), it may help in constructing a hypothesis which seems to the writer to have fewer weak points than the one which is now current.³²

tell of it. (2) The different accounts of the battle of Karkar, as found in Shalmaneser's inscription, give varying and undoubtedly exaggerated figures of the enemy who were killed. In the different accounts the number is given variously as 20,500, 25,000, and 14,000. So the Assyrian scribe may have got Ahab's name into the account instead of Joram's—had he not called Jehu *the son of Omri*? As for the first of Kittel's points, the jess said the better. Kittel shows himself entirely unfitted to pass judgment upon matters connected with Assyrian inscriptions. That the Assyrians should go over a battlefield and count the number of the enemy who were left there is hardly to be expected. The number can at best have been nothing more than an estimate—and that this estimate should have been too low is not probable, nor would it be reduced when copied upon the obelisks and monoliths of the king's palace. But this does not for a moment make the date of the battle uncertain, nor raise the probability that the Assyrian scribe should have put down Ahab's name instead of that of his son. That Jehu is called the son of Omri merely shows that the Assyrians did not bother about the family trees of the kings of Israel. To Assyria, Omri was the founder of the state (Samaria is called House of Omri [Bit-Ĥumri], Land of Omri [Mât-Ĥumri]) and the later kings would be his sons. Jehu son of Omri probably means Jehu of Bit-Ĥumri or Mât-Ĥumri, that is Jehu of Israel. The important point here is that *Jehu*, and not some other king, is mentioned as paying tribute in 842, which fits very well into the history as given in the Old Testament.

³⁰ So Hazael and Jehu are given as contemporaries by Shalmaneser; and Rezon, Menahem, Pekah, Joahaz of Tiglath-Pileser's inscriptions fit in well with II Kings, chaps. 15 f.

³¹ It is of course a commonplace of Old Testament criticism that popular, more or less unhistorical narratives do not know the names of the rulers referred to. So in the legends of Genesis, etc., we hear about Pharaoh, and the king of Egypt, but in historical narrative we hear about Shishak, Necho, etc. So in the popular Elisha stories, II Kings, chaps. 4 f., we hear often about the king of Syria, but his name is not given. Chap. 6:24, where the name does occur, belongs to another narrative, as is seen from the preceding verse. Chap. 8:7 f., is perhaps a real exception, and here the name Benhadad may have been added later; see below, p. 281.

³² For the discussion of the text and sources the commentaries should be consulted. It will be possible here to note only such facts as bear upon the historical question.

3. From I Kings 20:34 it is evident that Benhadad I of I Kings 15:18 f., and Benhadad II of our chapter cannot be identified.³³ For Benhadad II promises to restore to Ahab the cities which his father took from Ahab's father. Now the name of Benhadad I's father was Ṭab-Rimmôn (I Kings 15:18) and he had been succeeded by his son long before the time of Omri, Ahab's father. It is not impossible that Benhadad II was the son of Benhadad I, but this would be the only case where the son bore the same name as the father. It seems better to assume that another king of Damascus came between the two Benhadads, who may have been grandfather and grandson. There can be no chronological objection to such an arrangement, for we know nothing more about these kings of Syria than our meager accounts in the Old Testament furnish.

4. The events narrated in I Kings, chap. 20 are to be placed in the early part of Ahab's reign of twenty-two years. It has long been recognized that the motive which prompted Benhadad I of Syria "to harken unto King Asa" and to make war upon Israel, was a selfish one. Damascus is by nature a trading center, and its outlet to the sea is by way of Galilee. The cities which he took from Israel, "Ijon, and Dan, and Abel-beth-maacah, and 'all Chinneroth, with all the land of Naphtali," lay on this route (I Kings 15:16 f.). How long he held these cities we do not know. We know little about "the acts of Omri³⁴ which he did, and his might which he showed," (16, 27), but it is not unlikely that he made efforts to regain the lost

(1) Apart from 22:1, there is only the reference to the 32 captains of chariots (22:31), that can in any way be regarded as closely connecting chaps. 20 and 22. But the numeral 32 is clearly a gloss from 20:1, suggested by 20:24. (2) Benzinger, *Bücher der Könige*, 117, recognizes that we cannot have in chaps. 20 and 22 all of the "Ahab-geschichte." "Denn ausser den beiden erhaltenen Stücken war im ursprünglichen Zusammenhang dieser Capitel noch mehr von Ahab erzählt: 22:8 setzt doch wohl voraus, das über Ahabs und Michas früheres Zusammentreffen schon einiges erzählt war; 22:25 deutet darauf hin, das auch die Erfüllung der Weissagung an Zedekia berichtet war. Auch die Vorgeschichte der Syrerkriege wird nicht verschwiegen gewesen sein." But he also says (p. 122) that it is clear that 22:1 must be joined directly with 20:34. The writer admits that these sections, 20:1-34 and 22:1 f., belong to the same source, only he would modify Benzinger's statement by saying that 22:1 continues the "Ahab-geschichte" which broke off after 20:34, but that it is probable that some of the lost section of this "Ahabgeschichte" stood between 20:34 and 22:1.

³³ Winckler, *KAT*, 134, has "Benhadad (vices 'Ašep) d. i. Bīr-'Idri," reign from ca. 885-844; contemporaneously with Baasha, Elah, Omri, Ahab, Ahaziah, and Joram.

³⁴ From the Moabite Stone (see Cooke, *op. cit.*, 1 f.) we learn that "Omri, king of Israel he afflicted Moab many days, because Kemosh was angry with his land." The fact that Israel was called "the land of Omri" (see above) also shows the importance of his reign.

territory from Benhadad I and his successor. The tide of battle probably surged back and forth, but finally turned in favor of the king of Syria (20:34). Now Ahab's chief sin, according to the compiler of the Old Testament narrative, was "that he took to wife Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Sidonians"—I Kings 16:31. But in spite of the bad effect it may have had on the religion of Israel, this marriage was undoubtedly wise from a political standpoint, for it certainly meant an alliance with Phoenicia which in turn was intended to strike at Damascus. If we place the events of I Kings, chap. 20 near the *beginning* of Ahab's reign they furnish a fitting continuation of the events we should expect followed Ahab's marriage and alliance with Phoenicia. Furthermore, while the exact location of Aphek is not certain, still all the evidence points to the fact that it lay in Esdraelon (20:23 f.), which goes to show that the Syrian wars of chap. 20 were waged north of Samaria, and not east of the Jordan as was the battle at Ramoth-Gilead. The seat of war had evidently shifted between the events of chap. 20 and 22. The events of chap. 20 would then represent Ahab's successful meeting, perhaps after many defeats, of the attempts of Syria to hold or regain its route to the sea.

5. Between the events of I Kings, chaps. 20 and 22, we must leave a space of from ten to fifteen years. Among the "cities which he (Ahab) built" (22:39), or as we should probably say, rebuilt, may have been the Galilee cities referred to above. If our interpretation of the events of chap. 20 is correct, in the years following the battle of Aphek, Ahab would undoubtedly have busied himself in strengthening his kingdom. What better way to begin than by fortifying the cities which had been returned to him by the terms of the treaty? His determination to "afflict Moab" as his father had done³⁵ may also have fallen in this period. Meanwhile Benhadad II was succeeded by Adad-'idri, with whom Ahab formed a willing or unwilling alliance against Assyria.³⁶ Perhaps the two years of peace mentioned at the opening of I Kings 22:1 refer to two years of quiet after the battle of Karkar which the Old Testament account passes over in silence.³⁷ This is not only a possibility,

³⁵ See the Moabite Stone, l. 6.

³⁶ See above, n. 28.

³⁷ Or, as we should probably say, the Old Testament account of which has been lost.

but it seems to the writer a strong probability; for the battle of ẖarḫar was in all probability not a crushing defeat of the Syrian allies. Shalmaneser failed to follow up his reported success, and it was four years before he was ready to move west again. Meanwhile the allies, undoubtedly badly battered, returned to their homes. Two years of peace followed, and in the third, the king of Damascus, perhaps expecting another attack by the Assyrian king, began to look over his forces. As suggested above, he may have begun to look upon the allies who stood by him at ẖarḫar as subjects owing him allegiance, and, finding Ahab of Israel unresponsive, may have moved upon his territory. Hence the battle before Ramoth-Gilead. We would identify the *unnamed* king of Syria of I Kings, chap. 22 with Adad-'idri of Shalmaneser's inscriptions, and place the events of chap. 22 in the last years of Ahab's reign.

6. From the side of the Old Testament narrative, the writer sees only one objection that can be raised against this identification, namely, II Kings 8:7 f. According to this account Hazael, after putting *Benhadad* out of the way, usurped the throne of Syria. Now, it is obviously impossible to put a third Benhadad between Adad-'idri and Hazael, for, according to the inscriptions of Shalmaneser, this king's last campaign against Adad-'idri is dated in his fourteenth year (846), while his next campaign against Syria was in his eighteenth year (842), and this time *Hazael* was king of Damascus, while Jehu of Israel paid tribute to Assyria. We must assume, therefore, that the writer of the Elisha stories³⁸ made a mistake. Indeed, this is most probable, for Hazael is evidently not the son of the king whom he smothered to death with a wet blanket, but a usurper. Now Hazael's son's name was Benhadad. It is hardly likely that the name of Hazael's son would have been Benhadad unless his (Hazael's) father's name had also been Benhadad. This point need not be urged strongly. However, it seems most probable to the writer that Adad-'idri was not of the line of the Benhadads and the king who came between these, and that in Hazael and his son Benhadad we may see the restoration of the old line. From I Kings 11:23 f., we learn that Rezon, son of Eliadah, fled

³⁸ From I Kings 19:19 f., it would seem as if the story of Hazael's usurpation of the Syrian throne had also been a part of the Elijah legends.

from his master Hadadezer (Adad-'idri), king of Zobah (a small Syrian province), and settled in Damascus, where he established his line. It was probably at this time that Damascus began to be the leader in Syrian affairs, as Zobah seems to have been previously. Now, although we do not have definite information on the point, it seems probable that Rezin (the name is clearly the same as Rezon and both identical with the Assyrian Rašunnu) of Damascus was of the line of Benhadad III, II Kings 14:37 f.³⁹ Adad-'idri of Ahab's time may then have been a representative of the old line of the kings of Zobah breaking into the line of the Rezens, Benhadads, and Hazael.

The history of the relations between Syria and Israel from about 900 B.C. to the time of Jehu, *ca.* 842 B.C., would, according to our reconstruction, read as follows:

About 900 B.C. king Asa of Judah invited Benhadad, son of Tabrimmôn, son of Hezion,⁴⁰ king of Syria, to help him against Baasha of Israel (I Kings 15:18 f.). The Syrian king was only too glad to offer assistance, in view of the fact that by so doing he might secure a free trade route to the sea. As a result of this alliance between Judah and Damascus, Israel lost a number of cities in the Galilee region, along the route from Damascus to the coast (vs. 20). Baasha was succeeded by a number of ephemeral kings in whose reigns the cause of Syria probably did not suffer. Omri, however, was a powerful ruler, and made efforts, though unsuccessful ones (20:34), to regain the lost territory. His struggles were with the father of Benhadad II, whose name we do not know. When Ahab succeeded his father, his first move was to cement an alliance with Phoenicia. This was of course directed against the aggression of Syria in the Galilee region, and soon led to war, in which Ahab was successful even to capturing his opponent Ben-

³⁹ Adad-nirari (812-783), king of Assyria, mentions a Mari, king of Damascus. Some scholars have identified him with Benhadad III, son of Hazael, but this is not necessary. Our suggestion that Rezon of the time of Solomon and Rezin (Rezon) of the time of Tiglath-Pileser IV are of the line of Benhadad and Hazael would be raised almost beyond a doubt if we made the Benhadad of Asa's time, son of Tabrimmôn, son of *Rezin*, instead of Hezion. Thenius identifies Rezon and Hezion, but regards Hezion as the correct form (LXX. *Ἐρπον* 11. 23); Winckler, on the other hand, reads the name Hazael, LXX Luc. *Ἀζαήλ*, Vat. *Ἀζιῶ* (see Benzinger, *Könige*, 100). The reading *Ἀζιῶ* would point to an original *רִזְזִין* or *רִזְזִין* Rezon.

⁴⁰ Perhaps to be read Rezon; see above, n. 39.

hadad II. A treaty was formed, the conditions of which called for the restoration of the cities which Benhadad's father had taken from Ahab's father Omri, and the establishing of Israelitish bazaars in Damascus. The second clause of the treaty, as well as the battle-field of Aphek, shows that the wars between Ahab and Benhadad II were fought for the control of the trade route to the sea. When Benhadad's father controlled this route he had his bazaars in Samaria, but now that Ahab was in control, he was able to dictate terms. So far I Kings, chap. 20; the events recorded here are all to be placed in the early part of Ahab's reign of twenty-two years.

Some time before 854 Benhadad II was succeeded by Adad-'idri, who was able to force or persuade the Syrian states to form an alliance with him against Assyria. Ahab was one of these allies, and fought with him at ẔarẔar (854). The Assyrian king claims a victory, but the battle cannot have been decisive else he would have followed up his reported success. It was four years before Shalmaneser appeared again in Syria. Meanwhile Ahab withdrew from the alliance. This was the signal for renewing the warfare between Damascus and Israel which had been interrupted for a few years in the face of a danger which threatened not only these rival states, but the whole Westland. This time the Syrian king began by taking Ramoth-Gilead, east of Jordan. In the attempt of Ahab and his ally, Jehoshaphat of Judah, to recapture this city, the Israelitish king met his death, I Kings, chap. 22. Ahab's successors carried on the war, as we are able to infer from the Elisha stories, as well as from the fact that the name of no Israelitish king appears among Adad-'idri's allies in Shalmaneser's account of his campaigns of 849 and 846.⁴¹ Between the years 846 and 842, Adad-'idri was disposed of and succeeded by Hazael. When Shalmaneser appeared in Syria in 842 he found Hazael king of Damascus, while Jehu of

⁴¹ For the question as to whether or not Shalmaneser also appeared in the west in 850, see note 24. In the Monolith inscription of Shalmaneser, where the fullest account of the battle of ẔarẔar is given, the names of most of the Syrian allies are given: Adad-'idri of Damascus, Irhuleni of Hamath, Ahab of Israel, etc. In the inscriptions relating the story of the campaigns of (850), 849, and 846, only the names of Adad-'idri of Damascus, and Irhuleni of Hamath, "together with the twelve kings of the seacoast," are given. It is clear from the Monolith inscription that the kings of Hamath and Israel were next in importance to the king of Damascus, and the absence of the name of the king of Israel in the accounts of the following campaign, while that of the king of Hamath is given, clearly points to the non-participation of the Israelitish king.

Israel paid tribute to Assyria. It was only natural that Jehu should submit to Assyria rather than to the hereditary enemy Damascus. Shalmaneser received the tribute of the Tyrians and Sidonians at the same time, a fact which shows that we may be misled if we conclude from the Elisha stories that Jehu's accession necessarily meant a break with Phoenicia.⁴² In 839 Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time, taking four cities belonging to Hazael, and again receiving the tribute of the Phoenician cities Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos. It is significant that he did not meet Hazael again. This king succeeded in taking most of the east Jordan territory from Israel in Jehu's time, II Kings 10:32 f., and later had to be turned away from the gates of Jerusalem by "the gold found in the treasuries of the house of the lord and in the king's house" (II Kings 12:17 f.).

	Israel	Judah	Damascus
ca. 900-890	Baasha	Asa	Benhadad son of Tab-Rimmôn.
	Elah		
	Zimri		
	Tibni		
ca. 885	Omri (12 years)		Father of Benhadad II, name unknown.
ca. 875	Ahab (22 years)	Jehoshaphat	Benhadad II
	In early part of reign, wars with Benhadad II (I Kings, chap. 20).		
	In latter part of reign, battle of Karkar (854) and battle before Ramoth-Gilead (I Kings, chap. 22).		Adad-'idri (Hadadezer)
842	Jehu tributary to Shalmaneser.		A year or two before 842, Hazael succeeds Adad-'idri, not Benhadad.

⁴² See, however, Amos 1:9 f.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
(CONTINUING HEBRAICA)

VOLUME XXVII

JULY, 1911

NUMBER 4

THE CHARACTER, CONTENTS, AND DATE OF RUTH

BY DR. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON

I. THE CHARACTER OF THE BOOK

When Ernest Renan spoke of Ecclesiastes as the only charming book that was written by a Jew,¹ one is tempted to remark that he cannot have known or appreciated the Book of Ruth. In this short narrative of only four chapters we have, certainly, the most charming and attractive story of the whole of extant ancient Hebrew literature. Goethe says² that the Book of Ruth is "das lieblichste kleine Ganze, das uns episch und idyllisch überliefert worden ist."

While Ecclesiastes attracts thinkers,³ there is little that is really charming about the book. It has come down to us as a confused conglomeration of precepts hardly intelligible without a thorough-going rearrangement and editing⁴ such as Renan at least never knew. Ruth, on the contrary, has reached us in as perfect a state as perhaps any text of the Old Testament. The story is clear throughout,

¹ *L'Antichrist*, p. 101: *livre charmant, le seul livre aimable, qui éte composé par un Juif*. Cheyne says (*Job and Solomon*, p. 244): "M. Renan, in fact, seems to me at once to admire Kohelet too much and to justify his admiration on questionable grounds."

² *Westöstlichen Divan*, Dunker's ed. of Goethe's *Werke*, p. 217, **HEBRÄER**: *Beispiele wollen jedoch gedenken wir des Buches Ruth, welches bei seinem hohen Zweck einem Könige von Israel anständige, interessante Vorellern zu verschaffen, zugleich als das lieblichste kleine Ganze, etc.*

³ Cf. Haupt, "Ecclesiastes," *Amer. Jour. of Philology*, Vol. XXVI, 2 [102], pp. 125, 126.

⁴ Cf. Professor Haupt's rearrangement cited above.

although some details are more or less obscure, and can be read easily, requiring little study to appreciate the account.

The book is not stored with political or national history, nor yet with moral precepts, which we find in other narrative writings of the ancient Israelites, but depicts the human vicissitudes and homely virtues of love and constancy of the ancestors of David, the great King of the Hebrews. Incidentally, customs of the day are faithfully represented. Just what institutions these customs evidence, is the obscure part of the book. But this detracts but little from its beauty and the readiness with which the story itself may be understood. In its simplicity and love of detail⁵ it is epic⁶ in character. It might well be an episode from some great epic.

The clash of arms, the diplomacies of statecraft, and the warning prophecies of prophets shaping the policy of the nation are alike absent from this idyl—as the work is fitly styled by many. The atmosphere of the Book of Ruth is redolent of ripening corn, mown grain, and merry shouts of reapers as they gather the golden harvest. And so it has come about that the story of Ruth and Boaz has become typical of the restful quiet of country life and of harvest-time and plentiful crops.⁷

Among Jews the Book of Ruth is read at the feast of Pentecost, which was the corn-harvest festival of Palestine,⁸ marking the close of the grain-harvest which concluded with the wheat-gathering (cf. Ruth 2:23). The connection of the book with the harvest is found in the fact that the scene of the story proper is laid in the harvest-season, while the action is for the most part bound up with the harvesting.

⁵ For instances of this, cf. the scene where Boaz comes to the field in chap. II. In vs. 6 we find a repetition of the same wording as in vs. 5: thus vs. 5, "And he said to the young man placed over the reapers," and vs. 6, "And the young man placed over the reapers made answer and said." For "made answer and said" as an epic touch, cf. the Homeric, "Him (her) then answered and said," e.g., *Odyssey*, 19, 405, Τὴν δ' αὖτ' Ἀνρό-λυκος ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε, which occurs often (thus or with some variation in words in other passages, e.g., *Od.* 7, 207).

⁶ This is not in any wise inconsistent with the character of the composition as an idyl, since the idyl is a form of epic; cf. Gummere, *Handbook of Poetics*, Boston, 1898, p. 30.

⁷ References to the characters of Ruth are not infrequent in literature. W. E. Addis, *The Book of Job and the Book of Ruth* (Temple Bible), London and Philadelphia, 1902, gives a number (at the end of the book). For references in German, cf. Reuss, *Geschichte des A. T.*, Braunschweig, 1890, pp. 312, 313.

⁸ Cf. Exod. 34:22; Lev. 23:15 ff.; Deut. 16:9 ff., 16; II Chron. 8:13.

II. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK

The first chapter is introductory. In consequence of a severe famine in the period of the Judges, Elimelech, with his wife Naomi, and his two sons *Mahlon* and *Chilion*, left Bethlehem of Judah to sojourn in Moab. There, after a time, Elimelech died, and his sons married Moabite women, Orpah and Ruth. After about ten years Mahlon and Chilion also died. Naomi then proceeded to return to Bethlehem. With her, Ruth and Orpah set out, but the latter, at Naomi's solicitations, turned back. Ruth persisted in following her mother-in-law, and the two arrived in Bethlehem at the commencement of the barley-harvest.

The second chapter relates the gleanings of Ruth on Boaz' field. She came to his field by chance. Arriving from Bethlehem, Boaz espied Ruth gleanings and treated her with great kindness. He personally attended to her welfare and protection and supplied her with enough food for herself and mother-in-law. At night on learning of the reception accorded her, Naomi advised Ruth to remain on Boaz' field; and she gleaned thus throughout the entire harvest, dwelling with Naomi.

In the third chapter Ruth carries out the plan of her mother-in-law to get a home for her. As Boaz is a relative of Naomi's husband, he must redeem Elimelech's estate. Ruth visits Boaz on the threshing floor, where the grain is winnowed, that night. Awakening about midnight, Boaz finds Ruth beside him and questions her. He promises to help her and do as she requests, provided a nearer relative, with a previous claim, does not exercise his right. Ruth remains until morning with Boaz, when he presents her with six measures of barley to supply the wants of his relatives.

In the last chapter Boaz redeems his promise and marries Ruth. At the city-gate he finds the nearer relative and in the presence of ten elders explains the conditions with regard to the estate of Elimelech and the necessity of redeeming Ruth with it. Being unable to redeem, he relinquished his claims; whereupon Boaz declared he would buy the estate for himself. All present blessed Boaz and Ruth, and the pair were married. Of this union was born Obed, father of Jesse, father of King David. A genealogy of David's line closes the book.

III. THE DATE AND ORIGIN

The opening words of Ruth, "In the days when the Judges exercised authority," place the events of the book in the age of the Judges. The account, however, may have been written by an author at a much later day, although Jewish tradition⁹ has it that our book, together with the books of Judges and Samuel, was written by Samuel.

It is quite impossible that Samuel wrote the book (or books) bearing his name and it is quite improbable, if not impossible, that he wrote Ruth and Judges; still it is not impossible that the Jewish legend is right in ascribing an early origin to the Book of Ruth in common with the other two books. In accord with this an early date for Ruth was accepted by Keil,¹⁰ Cassel,¹¹ and C. H. H. Wright.¹² Davidson¹³ placed the date of the writing of the book in the time of Hezekiah, whom Sennacherib, King of Assyria (705-681 B.C.), shut up in Jerusalem "like a bird in a cage." Ed. Reuss¹⁴ dated the book in the same period.

Other scholars believe the Book of Ruth was of later origin: (1) later in the period of the Kings but still before the Exile, (2) during the Exile, (3) or even after the Exile. As representatives of the first of these views, Oettli¹⁵ and Strack¹⁶ may be mentioned. Driver,¹⁷ too, places the book in the pre-Exilic period. As assigning

⁹ Talmud (Jerusalem), *Bab. Bath.*, 14b.

¹⁰ *Commentary on Judges and Ruth*, 1874 (1st ed., 1863).

¹¹ *Das Buch der Richter u. Ruth*, Bielefeld u. Leipzig, 1887, pp. 262 f. He believed Ruth was written in the reign of King David at the time of the height of his splendor (p. 264b).

¹² *The Book of Ruth in Hebrew* . . . (Williams and Norgate), London and Leipzig, 1864, Intro., p. xlv. Here Wright makes the date "not later than the time of David." In his *Introduction to the Old Test.*, London, 1891 (1st ed., 1890), Wright stated, "No certain date can be assigned . . . , only that it must have been written after the time of David and long prior to the Exile."

¹³ *Introduction to the Old Test.* (3 vols.) (Williams & Norgate), Edinburgh, Vol. I, 1862, pp. 482 ff.

¹⁴ *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften des Alten Test.*, p. 314, § 244.

¹⁵ In his commentary on Ruth in *Die geschichtlichen Hagiographen und das Buch Daniel* von Oettli u. Meinhold (Strack und Zöckler's kurzgefasster Kommentar), Nördlingen, 1889, pp. 215 ff.

¹⁶ *Einleitung in das Alte Test.*, München, 1898, p. 142.

¹⁷ *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Test.*¹⁰ (*LOT*¹⁰), New York, 1902, p. 455. Driver says, "It seems to the writer that the general beauty and purity of style of Ruth point more decidedly to the pre-exilic period than do the isolated expressions quoted [a number of supposed late and Aramaic words] to the period after the exile."

Ruth to the period of the Exile, I may mention Ewald¹⁸ and König.¹⁹ The latter, however, believed it was only the final redaction of the book which fell in the period of the Exile—the first reduction to writing was more ancient (*einer älteren Schriftlichmachung*),²⁰ and this reduction to writing came only after a period of oral transmission as a folk-story ("im Volksmunde"). With this long period of oral transmission together with his belief that the story rests upon a historical foundation, König may be said actually to regard the origin of the book as early in the period of the Kings.²¹

The majority of modern writers, however, assign Ruth to the post-Exilic period. Of those who have adopted this view there may be mentioned Bertholdt,²² Bertheau,²³ Schrader,²⁴ Graetz,²⁵ Kuenen,²⁶ Wellhausen,²⁷ Orelli,²⁸ Budde,²⁹ Wildeboer,³⁰ Bertholet,³¹ Nowack,³² Cheyne,³³ Winckler,³⁴ Haupt,³⁵ Cornill,³⁶ etc.

¹⁸ *Geschichte Israels*, I, 225.

¹⁹ *Einleitung in das Alte Test.*, Bonn, 1893, p. 287: *exilischen Herstellung*.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 286. (The word *Schriftlichmachung* is unusual. Professor Haupt remarks of this use here that it is strange and that *Aufzeichnung* would be better.) Similar to König's view is Orelli's, but he places the final redaction after the Exile; cf. below, n. 28.

²¹ Redpath, also, in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, Vol. IV, art. "Ruth," p. 316 (Date of the Book), would assign the book to this period. He says, "It claims no particular date for itself, though the style would lead us to assign it to a comparatively early one."

²² *Einleitung*, pp. 231 ff.

²³ *Das Buch Richter und Ruth*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 290.

²⁴ In de Wette-Schrader, *Lehrbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung*³, Berlin, 1869, p. 395: *Es ist am wahrscheinlichsten in die erste Zeit nach dem Exil zu verlegen, als durch Serubbabel (Hagg. I, 14. II, 3, 22. Sach. IV, 9) die Blicke wiederum auf das Davidische Haus gelenkt waren*.

²⁵ *History of the Jews* (Eng. translation of the Jewish Publication Society of America), Vol. I, Philadelphia, 1891, pp. 370, 411.

²⁶ *Onderzoek*, I, pp. 212, 214: the time of Ezra and Nehemiah.

²⁷ Bleek-Wellhausen, *Einleitung in das Alte Test.*⁴, Berlin, 1878, pp. 204, 205; Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs u. der hist. Bücher des Alten Test.*⁵, Berlin, 1889, pp. 357-59: *Nach dem Exil*.

²⁸ In *Protestant. Realencycl.*², Vol. XIII, art. "Ruth," p. 142; ³, Vol. XVII, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 267 f.

²⁹ In *ZAT*, XII, 1892, pp. 37-59, *Vermutungen zum "Midrasch des Buches der Könige," III. Book of Ruth*, pp. 43-46: *späte Abfassungszeit*, p. 43 below.

³⁰ *Die Literatur des Alten Test.*, Göttingen, 1895, pp. 341 ff.

³¹ *Das Buch Ruth* (In *Fünf Megill.*), *Einleitung*, pp. 50, 51 f.

³² *Richter-Ruth*, *Einleitung zu Ruth*, pp. 180 ff.

³³ In *Encycl. Biblica*, Vol. IV, art. "Ruth," cols. 4167, 4168.

³⁴ In *Altorientalische Forschungen*, III¹ (1901), Leipzig, 1902, "Ruth," pp. 65 ff.; II (1898-1900), Leipzig, 1901, pp. 232, 504.

³⁵ In the interpretation of the Book of Ruth in the Old Test. Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, session of 1904-5.

³⁶ *Einleitung*⁶, Tübingen, 1905, § 22, 2, 3, pp. 158, 159.

The assumption of a post-Exilic date, which is thus the most widely prevalent view at present, rests on general indications. Of these there are but five that possess any weight, and they are as follows:

1. The opening words of the book, *In the days when the Judges exercised authority*. This places the narration at a point subsequent to the events related, so that the narrator views the period as a completed whole. Further, the quiet and peace pervading the Book of Ruth is in striking contrast to the turbulent and unsettled age of the Judges. It is urged that only a very late writer (no longer realizing the incongruity of a peaceful state, such as portrayed in Ruth, in the days of the Judges) could have represented the events of our book in that age. If actually written at an early date, the book would reflect the spirit of the times, or at least the state of affairs would not have been depicted as calm and restful.

2. The genealogy in 4:18-22 indicates by its style and formularistic character, which it has in common with the Priestly Code (P), that the book is at least as late as P. No writer before the Exile would have used אֵלֶּה הַדּוֹלָרוֹת, "these are the generations," as an introductory formula for the genealogical table, and הוֹלִיד, "he begot," in the table itself. Wellhausen has pointed out that the genealogy, which represents Salmon as the father of Bethlehem (Boaz), could not be pre-Exilic, for Salmon was not considered the father of Bethlehem until after the Exile.³⁷

3. The passage 4:7, relating what was customary in Israel "formerly," לְפָנִים, indicates that when this was written, the custom was long since past. The practice alluded to, the drawing off of the shoe, is the same as the *halîṣah* of Deut. 25:9, 10; and this could not have been forgotten as long as the practice of Deuteronomy was known. The explanation of 4:7, however, proves that the custom was no longer known. Now the only conceivable period when this custom could have died out and been spoken of as existing "formerly," לְפָנִים, is after the Exile, which disrupted the whole life of Israel. Containing such an explanation, Ruth therefore was written at a time when the explanation was necessary, and this was after the Exile.

³⁷ Cf. II Chron. 32:54 (Professor Haupt).! |

4. In the Jewish arrangement of biblical books, Ruth is found in the third division or **כְּתוּבִים**, "Writings." This indicates a late origin; for if the book had been in existence when the collection of **נְבִיאִים** was formed, it would appear among the "Prophets." To be sure, Ruth is placed after Judges in the LXX, etc., but this, it is urged, is a later practice.

5. Lastly, the linguistic peculiarities and affinities of our book are said to be distinctly late. The few expressions occurring in Ruth which are found elsewhere only in the oldest writings may be due to conscious borrowing to give an archaic flavor, but the presence of words found elsewhere only in Aramaic, together with the use of words in senses in which they are found only in late Hebrew or Aramaic, precludes the possibility of an early date and compels us to assign a late date.

A consideration of the foregoing alleged indications of late date of the Book of Ruth will reveal the fact that the first four are absolutely inconclusive or no arguments for a late origin: the supposed indications can be accounted for equally well, or much better, otherwise. The arguments will be considered in the order given.

1. While it is true that *In the days when the Judges exercised authority* points to a date subsequent to the age of the Judges, such a date need not be later than the date of the Judaic (J) document, or about 850 B.C., which is long enough after the days of the Judges to justify the statement quoted, being at least a century and a half after that time. Then, too, the opening words may be due to later redaction, let us say of the time of the "Deuteronomistic" editing of JE, i.e., the reworking of the Judaic and Ephraimitic histories of the Hebrew people to conform to Deuteronomy. The Book of Ruth may have formed an episode in the history which was, perhaps at the time of this editing, broken up into books or new divisions; and our book on being taken out of its old connection had the words **וַיְהִי בִּימֵי שָׁפַט הַשְּׁפֹטִים** added to convert the episode into an independent book. That Ruth was once a part of the JE history, or at least of J, will be shown below (see p. 298); here it is sufficient to point out that the words quoted do not necessarily indicate a late date—are perfectly consistent with a date as early as 850 B.C.

The peaceful and settled character of the events portrayed in

Ruth, also, is not at all incompatible with their having been enacted in the period of the Judges. The life of the people in Palestine and Judah at that time was not uninterruptedly unsettled and warlike. As Oettli³⁸ and Strack³⁹ have pointed out, there were periods in the age of the Judges which were entirely peaceful and quiet. Oettli justly compares the various intervals of peace during the Thirty-Years' War, and Strack draws attention to the repeated notices of peaceful and secure periods during the time of the Judges, found in the book itself, e.g., 3:11, 30, etc.

But to this Nowack replies that while there may well have been some peaceful intervals, life during the whole age of the Judges was not pervaded with a well-grounded sense of order as is manifested at every turn in the Book of Ruth, dominating the conduct of every character. In short, "Yahwism" pervades and dominates the life and thought of everyone, cf. 1:8 f., 13, 16 f., 20 f.; 2:4, 12, 20; 3:10, 13; 4:11 f., 14. Yahwism, however, was established in the days of the Judges just as much as a number of centuries later, especially as Yahweh was the national God, and Bethlehem and Judah his natural home. It must be remembered that there is as much Yahwism in the Judaic document and in the oldest portions of Judges as in Ruth;⁴⁰ and the song of Deborah, the earliest bit of Hebrew literature, might be considered late on the same basis of Yahwism.⁴¹

Nor can it be objected that the "Yahwism" in this song and in Judges in general is of a different character from that in Ruth, for we must remember the different character of different events. If Deborah could sing (Judg. 5:2) *Praise ye Yahweh for the avenging of Israel* (cf. also vs. 3), are we to suppose that the characters of Ruth say anything but that which is equally customary and appropriate in the same age, but under different circumstances, when they say *Yahweh be with you*, etc. (2:4; cf. Judg. 1:19)? And again, is it any more a late conception of Yahweh when Naomi says (Ruth 1:8) *May Yahweh deal graciously with you*, than when Jephthah says (Judg. 11:27) *May Yahweh, the Judge, decide to-day between the*

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

⁴⁰ Cf. Judg. 1:19, and *Yahweh was with Judah* (J); 2:20 (E), 23 (J); 3:20 (E), 28 (J); 4:6, 14, 15 (JE); 8:8 (J); 11:10 (J), 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 36 (all E); *et passim*, frequently (analysis of Nowack).

⁴¹ Cf. Judg. 5:2, 3, 5, 11, 13, 23, 31. Verses, or parts, assigned by Nowack to other documents than J are not referred to here.

Israelites and Moab (as Nowack reads for Ammon of ~~ff~~)? It is unnecessary to multiply comparisons further: there is just as much Yahwism in Judges as in Ruth.

As for the settled customs in the Book of Ruth to which allusion is made, they are of the most primitive and such as are perfectly congruent with a wild age such as Judges presupposes. The institutions of redemption of property and the inheritance of women, which alone figure in our book—the levirate nowhere plays a part⁴²—are certainly primitive enough and smack more of the tribal ties of the desert than of civilization.⁴³ Accordingly, neither the opening words of Ruth nor the picture of life in Bethlehem as represented in the book can be used in any way as evidence of its late date, as Nowack argues.

2. The genealogy, 4:18–22, certainly cannot be considered early; and if a genuine portion, would prove Ruth to be of late date. However, the table is palpably not a part of the book, as Driver,⁴⁴ König,⁴⁵ and Bertholet⁴⁶ have pointed out. Also Nowack grants the possibility of the genealogy being a late addition. This argument for a late date is therefore void.

3. The late character of 4:7, however, has been emphasized by both Nowack and Bertholet as an indication of late date. They believe the drawing off of the shoe referred to here and the custom of Deut. 25:9 are identical. An explanation like that of Ruth 4:7 would be necessary only in case of an obsolete custom. The only period when this ancient custom could have been discontinued and forgotten was after the Exile, which changed the whole life of the people, argue the proponents of a late date. No reason, however, exists for believing that any of the long-established and vital social customs of the Hebrews, such as the levirate, were discontinued. We know that Ezra and Nehemiah enforced all the practices enjoined by the Law; and the levirate and *ḥaliṣah* were in force long centuries after the Exile. The drawing off of the shoe was therefore not forgotten.

⁴² In a future paper I hope to show that the levirate is a late institution with the Hebrew people.

⁴³ The inheritance of women, implied and referred to in 3:2 and 4:10, was a tribal custom of the Arabs until forbidden by Mohammed, Qurʾān 4:23, 26; and was still in vogue among the Hebrews in the early monarchy, cf. I Kings 2:22.

⁴⁴ *LOT*¹⁸, pp. 455 f.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 287.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 51, 7; 68 f.

The point here is that the drawing off of the shoe in legal transfer of property is something entirely different from that prescribed in Deut. 25:9, which was known in later times as the *ḥaliṣah*. The custom of drawing off the shoe in legal transfer of property was much older than the custom of the levirate, which is apparently of later origin among the Hebrews. It would seem that the shoe was, in ancient times, considered a symbol of possession; and drawing it off, symbolic of renunciation of that possession. Hence its applicability in legal transfer. Such a symbolism is found also among the ancient Hindoos in the great epic of Valmīki, the *Rāmāyana*, Book II, Canto cxii,⁴⁷ when Bharata goes to summon Rāma, his brother and the rightful possessor of the throne, to Ayodhyā. Rāma refuses to return, and taking off his gold-embroidered shoes, presents them to Bharata as a token of his renunciation of the inheritance. Bharata returns to Ayodhyā and places Rāma's shoes on the throne as a symbol of possession and authority at his side when dispensing justice, etc.

The custom of drawing off the shoe in transfer of property was, accordingly, anciently prevalent. Gradually, even before the Exile, this primitive practice, brought into Palestine from the desert perhaps, began to die out; and when the Exile came, it died out completely in this connection and was forgotten by most people, since, in the Captivity, Babylonian practices prevailed. After the Exile, therefore, the reference in Ruth 4:8 was no longer understood, because the custom survived only in connection with the levirate; and so some late reader, or perhaps scribe, who still knew of the old practice, inserted a gloss (4:7) to explain the allusion.⁴⁸ On critical grounds also, this verse must be considered a gloss, as it interrupts the connection.

An argument for a late date of Ruth from 4:7 is therefore impossible.

4. The argument for a late date of our book from its place in the third division of the Jewish Bible is absolutely worthless. It is certain that no collection of Prophets or Hagiographa was in existence until long after *all* the books were written. The Talmud, *Bab. Bath.*, 13^b, proves that, up to about 150 A.D., all books were separate

⁴⁷ English trans. by Ralph T. H. Griffith, London, 1895.

⁴⁸ Driver, also, quite correctly pointed out (*LOT*¹⁰, p. 455) that 4:7 is a late explanatory gloss.

volumes. The classification into Prophets and Hagiographa of the Jewish Scriptures can be proved to be entirely late and arbitrary, and can therefore indicate nothing as to the real date of origin of any book of the Old Testament.

5. The theory of a late date of the Book of Ruth rests, accordingly, exclusively on the indication found in the alleged presence of Aramaisms and late diction in the book. With the more accurate philological knowledge of the last few decades the number of these has been shown to be more restricted than was at first assumed;⁴⁹ and of those still cited as clearly late or Aramaic, which number six or seven all told, there is not one which cannot be equally well or better regarded as good Hebrew usage or otherwise accounted for.

With the removal of the necessity of recognizing any word or expression in the genuine portions of the Book of Ruth as being late or an Aramaism, the only valid evidence of a late date, and the only insurmountable obstacle to assigning an early one, is removed. We are free, therefore, to assume an early origin with Jewish tradition and a considerable number of modern scholars. Such an assumption is supported by so much good evidence that I believe an early date can be regarded as proved. The evidence is as follows:

1. While there is not one word or expression in the genuine portions of Ruth which is late, Driver has pointed out (*LOT*¹⁰, p. 454) that "the general Hebrew style (the idioms and syntax) shows no marks of deterioration; it . . . stands on a level with the best parts of Samuel." There are present a relatively large number of words and usages which are paralleled only in the earliest Hebrew literature. This cannot be a matter of chance and imitation as Nowack explains: in a book of only four chapters the presence of so many old and classical usages indicates unmistakably that the book is ancient and not late.⁵⁰ (For a list of such usages and forms, see Driver, *LOT*¹⁰, p. 454 [note †].)

⁴⁹ Lists of linguistic peculiarities and Aramaisms are given by A. B. Davidson, *Introduction*, Vol. I, pp. 482 ff.; König, *Einleitung*, p. 286; Bertheau, *op. cit.*, p. 286; Driver, *LOT*¹⁰, p. 455; Bertholet, *op. cit.*, p. 50, 4; Nowack, *op. cit.*, p. 180, 1; Cheyne, *Encycl. Bibl.*, IV, col. 4168. One word אֲרָמִי, 1:13, considered irrefutably an Aramaism because incorrectly rendered *therefore*, can be only Hebrew in this sense, by its derivation.

⁵⁰ The Benedictine Calmet, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 1722 (quoted by Cheyne, *Encycl. Bibl.*, IV, col. 4168), believed that Ruth was written by the same author as the Book of Samuel because of the many relationships between the style of Ruth and Samuel. A complete discussion of Aramaisms, forms, etc., is reserved for a special paper.

2. There are a number of linguistic and graphic peculiarities that fall in the realm of grammatical forms which have been variously explained, but which are most consistently accounted for as early forms. Some of these, as, for example, the forms of the second person sing., perf. and impf., in 3:3, 4; 2:8, 21; 3:4, 18, are also found in late texts; however, with other evidences of early date, are better explained as early forms. On the other hand, certain forms of the pronouns, as the longer form of those of the first person and the relative, are definitely early. Likewise the frequent occurrence of *scriptio defectiva*, while in later times the tendency was toward an excessive use of *scriptio plena*, is an evidence of early date. The few cases of *scriptio plena*, as in וַחֲכִמִּיּוֹד, 2:7, and the Aramaic spelling in נִיִּי, 1:20, are satisfactorily explained as introduced by late scribes under the influence of their own time. It is, however, highly improbable, if not impossible, that, were Ruth late, the scribes (or author) should have introduced so many *defective*-writings.

3. Besides linguistic and graphic evidence, our book presents not a little internal evidence which compels us to assign an early date. The general tone of the book, the customs and atmosphere, are positively pre-Deuteronomistic. The indications of this are:

a) The arrival of Naomi and Ruth from Moab, 1:23, is "at the beginning of the harvest of barley." This time was just when the Passover began in Palestine. At no period of Israelitish history would a writer have neglected to mention the Passover, unless this feast as the celebration of the commencement of the spring harvest (cf. Deut., chap. 16) had not yet been established. The writer who described the arrival of the two women as above must have lived in the age before the establishment of the Passover, which was in the pre-Deuteronomistic era.

b) The manner of conducting the harvest as related in chap. 2 is likewise pre-Deuteronomistic. Boaz employs his hand-maidens to work in the field. In view of the fact that the harvesters were men employed to reap, etc., it seems certain that the women can have been engaged only in picking up what was left on the field by the reapers and in making up bundles (sheaves). But picking up what was left was contrary to the law of Deut. 24:19, and therefore the book must have been written at a time when the law of Deuteronomy

was not yet established. Moreover, the stress laid upon Ruth's finding some well-disposed person who would permit her to glean, 2:22; the prominence with which it is brought out that Ruth asked permission to glean, 2:7, 10, 13; and further that others than Boaz would probably repulse her, 2:22; all this indicates a state of affairs in which the law that the poor be allowed to glean was not controlling the actions of men, nor even established. Furthermore, it cannot be argued that such treatment would be meted out to Ruth because she was a foreigner, although not to a Jewess, for we know that Ruth had practically become one of the Hebrews (cf. 1:16 "... thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God"); and, *most important*, Deut. 24:19 says: "When thou cuttest down thine harvest in the field, and hast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go to fetch it: *it shall be for the stranger*, etc."⁵¹ Now it seems most likely that no Hebrew (or Jewish) writer, remembering all that this implies, could have written portraying a state of affairs so manifestly pre-Deuteronomistic as Ruth, unless he had lived in that period.

c) The absence of any mention of *Shebû' ôth*, or Pentecost, at the conclusion of the harvest (end of chap. 2) indicates, as did the failure to mention the Passover in chap. 1, that the writer did not know this festival, and hence must have lived before the introduction of the Deuteronomistic law, at which time alone it is conceivable that *Shebû' ôth* was not celebrated.

d) In 4:5, 10 Ruth is considered a part of the property of Elimelech and Mahlon to be acquired with it. This discloses a state of affairs that is again pre-Deuteronomistic—is, indeed, confined to the earliest times. No writer not living at a time in which the state of society represented in Ruth was not long past could have presented a picture of the life of the Hebrews of this period so faithful and true as this touch and allusion to the drawing off of the shoe in 4:6 show it to be. Such a time must have been pre-Deuteronomistic.

e) Finally, the absence of objection to the intermarriage of an Israelite with a Moabitess is clearly early. Wellhausen pointed out⁵² that this absence of hesitancy to speak of David's ancestor as having

⁵¹ Cf. also the treatment prescribed toward strangers in Deut. 1:16; 10:18; 23:7; 24:14 ff.; Exod. 22:21; 23:9; Mal. 3:5.

⁵² Bleek-Wellhausen, *Einleitung*⁴, p. 205.

married a Moabitess might be regarded as a ground for considering the book pre-Deuteronomistic. To be sure, he considered such a dating incorrect because of the supposedly late diction, etc. But these obstacles being removed, this argument alone is practically conclusive for an early date. It cannot be argued that the absence of objection to intermarriage is purposely manipulated to show that unions with foreign women were permissible (which is considered by many to be the object of the book) since it can be shown that this would not at all be proved.

Taken all together, therefore, the language, graphic peculiarities, and general character of the Book of Ruth indicate very strongly—indeed in the opinion of the author, unmistakably and irrefutably—that it must be of early date. The vigor and consummate art of the book are of so high an order that a late date on this ground alone is practically impossible. Even Cheyne, who would make all of Hebrew literature as late as flimsy show of argument will permit and who believes Ruth late on linguistic grounds, is compelled to admit “that the story of Ruth was written before the living impulses of Jewish literature had been choked by the growing influence of legalism.” This influence was, however, already present at the time of P and D, and accordingly so fresh and naïve a story as this must be assigned to the pre-Deuteronomistic period at least.

And if written in this early period, our book must have been a part of the great history of JE and ultimately of the popular stories of J. The scene of the story is Bethlehem-Judah, and it must have formed one of a cycle of David-Bethlehem stories.

With Ruth originally a part of J, it is easily possible to account for its present form as a separate book. When the Deuteronomistic editing (which combined Deuteronomy with the JE history and gave form as separate books to Judges and Samuel) took place, the story of Ruth, which probably preceded the account of events related in Samuel, was left without a definite place, together, perhaps, with other material. Since, however, the story of Ruth was fraught with special interest and importance because of its relation to King David, the account was made a special book by itself.

Now in this form, separated from its original context, the book opened very abruptly. Accordingly a few words were added at the

beginning to indicate the date of the events related. Thus the words *וַיְהִי בַיָּמֵי שֹׁפֵט הַשְּׁפֹטִים*, "And it was in the days when the Judges exercised authority," are accounted for. The first word *וַיְהִי* shows that there was a distinct recollection of some original connection⁵³ in which the book stood. The present introductory form refers to the period of the Judges as something past. This is but natural, since these words were added at a point of time subsequent to that period. This introduction, also, corresponds exactly to the Deuteronomistic frame-work and additions of Judges, which likewise refer to the events of that book as long since past.

Besides this editorial change there are, I believe, three other additions in our book, which are due to the redaction of D and P (*R^d* and *R^p*). The first two of these additions are: *לְהָקִים שָׁם-הַבֵּית*, 4:5, and the same words plus *וּלְאֵיכָרָה שָׁם-הַבֵּית* and *בָּעֵם אַחֲרָיו וּמִשָּׁעַר בְּקִרְיָו*, 4:10. These additions also Professor Beyer⁵⁴ considered to be not original portions of the book, with the exception of *עַל-יְהוֹלָחוּ* in vss. 5 and 10, but he believed the glosses were inserted by a late reader or scribe. It is better, however, in the opinion of the present author, to consider these additions as due to Deuteronomistic editing in keeping with Deut., chap. 25, like the levirate allusions in Gen., chap. 38, which are also to be considered as by *R^d* (cf. note 42 to page 293).

The third passage which is a later addition to Ruth is the genealogy, 4:18-22. As stated above, this genealogy has been regarded by a number of scholars as not an integral part of the book. Its affinity with genealogies of P in the Pentateuch is unmistakable; its language and formularistic character are identical. Even in Chronicles the genealogies do not bear the same close resemblance to those of P. This leads to the conclusion that the genealogical table in Ruth is an addition by the authors of P themselves. The

⁵³ Budde, *ZAT*, XII, 1892, pp. 43 ff., believed this was the "*Midrash to the Book of Kings*." All that is true, however, of Ruth as a part of the Midrash would be equally, or rather much more, true of the book as a part of the early history J(E).

⁵⁴ *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1903, 2, "Die Leviratsche im Buch Ruth," pp. 328, 332. Professor Beyer believes here that no levirate marriage is intended, the additions being glosses on the basis of Deut. 25:6-10 because of the similarity of ceremony. Likewise in *AJSL*, 20, 3, April, 1904, "The Goel in Ruth 4:14, 15," pp. 205 f., he regarded these words as glosses but made by friends of Ezra and Nehemiah to make it appear that Boaz was by law compelled to marry Ruth.

genealogy in I Chron. 2:10-12 (=Ruth 4:19b-22a) is thus copied from Ruth and modified to serve the purpose of the Chronicler.⁵⁵

If, now, it is granted that 4:5, 10 contain Deuteronomistic expansions, and 4:18-22 are an addition of P, it is quite out of the question to suppose that our book was written as late as the post-Exilic period.

Accordingly not only the language and general tone of Ruth, but also the presence of Deuteronomistic expansions and an addition by P prove that the story is of early origin.

⁵⁵ This is likewise the view of Budde, *ZAT*, XII, p. 460. He does not, however, consider the genealogy a later addition and to be by P, since he believes the whole book a part of the Midrash to Kings.

DAS ENDSCHWACHE ZEITWORT IN HEBRÄISCHEN EIGENNAMEN

VON F. W. GEES

Die Neigung des Hebräischen, die Lautgestalt der endschwachen Zeitwörter zu vereinfachen, hat nicht nur dazu geführt, den Unterschied zwischen ל"ו und ל"ו der **فَعَلَ** Formen fallen zu lassen (was an und für sich weniger überraschend ist), sondern sogar die **فَعِلَ** Klasse damit zusammenzuwerfen, um eine gleiche Abwandlung für alle drei zu gewinnen. Daraus ergab sich die Notwendigkeit eines Ausgleiches dieser 3 Arten; da wahrscheinlich die beiden **فَعَلَ** sehr früh ihre abweichenden Formen angeglichen hatten, blieb nur übrig, **فَعِلَ** Formen damit in Einklang zu bringen. Warum aber baute der Sprachgeist ein gleiches Gerüst für zielende und ziellose Zeitwörter auf? Der Grund liegt grösstenteils in dem Zerfall der schwachen, aber konsonantischen ל und ו, die nach Abschleifung der vollen Endungen ans Wortende versetzt waren und nun mit den vorausgehenden Klingern verschmolzen wurden. Manche Wortschlussverbindung war aber nicht genehm, z.B. וי; nur וי konnte sein Dasein im Auslaute bewahren und da noch findet es sich einige Male durch א gestützt (וְקִיא, וְקִלִּיא, וְקִיִּיאָה). Worten wie וְקִי, וְקִי war als qatl oder qitl Formen die Möglichkeit genommen, das konsonantische ו zu vokalisieren, ein Vorgang, der einer späteren Entwicklungsstufe vorbehalten blieb. Diese Abneigung gegen וי bewirkte, dass sich aus einem וְקִי eine Übergangsform וְקִי* entwickelte, die aber sogleich wegen des widerstrebenden und unbequemen Silbenschlusses mit dem Stützklinger א versehen und etwa וְקִיא* ausgesprochen wurde. Wäre dies von den **فَعَلَ** Gebilden unbeeinflusst geblieben, so hätte es zu einem Perfect וְקִיא* geführt. Aber die zielenden Zeitwörter übten wegen ihrer grösseren Anzahl einen so starken Einfluss auf diese Form aus, dass statt dessen וְקִיא* sich als allgemein gültig Eingang verschaffte.

Diesem i=Perf. stehen eine Anzahl Eigenschaftswörter mit der Form qatıl zur Seite. Aus בָּלִי stammt רָבִי , aus רָבִי , רָבִי , רָבִי ergibt רָבִי (vgl. ar. رَوِي) "reichlich" eine qatıl Bildung, die nach Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 28b, unendliche Male neben dem ungedehnten qatıl steht). Barth, § 10c, Anm. 2, nimmt daraufhin eine Entsprechung von רָבִי und arab. رَوِي an. Die ursprüngliche Gestalt von רָבִי wäre also רָבִי . Sobald aber die weibliche Form dazu sich einstellt, finden wir רָבִי . Wenn nun auch nach Barth dies רָבִי den letzten Wurzellaut ב zerdrückt hat, so ist aber noch der Klinger i vorhanden, und es ist nicht einzusehen, wie sich daraus die gegenwärtige Lautgestalt entfaltet habe. Wie kann aus רָבִי sich ein רָבִי ergeben? Vielmehr ist die Verflächung des Klingers i der Grundform רָבִי in ein ä anzunehmen (Brockelmann, *Vergl. Gr.* I, 147g). Aus dem so entstandenen רָבִי schuf der Sprachgebrauch wegen weniger scharfer Betonung der Endsilbe רָבִי (vgl. König, *Lehrgebäude*, I, S. 529) und auch gleichfalls רָבִי = רָבִי . Die grössere Wucht des Tones in der Verbindungsform רָבִי gibt einen Fingerzeig über die Entstehung des Lautes רָבִי im st. absol.

Durch eine Betrachtung einer Anzahl hierhergehöriger Personenamen wird sich obige Ansicht stützen lassen. Es ist genugsam bekannt, dass in der Bezeichnung von Personen, Stätten, Tieren, und Pflanzen sich ältere Formen der Sprache erhalten, die nicht so allgemein den aus dem alltäglichen Gebrauch herauswachsenden Änderungen und Vereinfachungen unterworfen sind. So haben sich in den Namen Otto, Berta, Minna männliche und weibliche Endungen aus dem Althochdeutschen herübergerettet, die anderswo zu ö abgeschliffen wurden. Erst wenn im Laufe von Jahrhunderten sich der Sprachcharakter völlig geändert hat, sucht das Volk durch kleine lautliche Umgestaltungen dem alten Worte einen neuen Inhalt abzugewinnen. Das Hebräische zeigt, was bei der verhältnismässig kurzen Entwicklungszeit von kaum 1000 Jahren nicht anders zu erwarten ist, den gleichen Trieb, Reste aus den älteren Stufen der Sprache in Eigennamen zu erhalten. Hierher gehört vor allem שָׂרָה . Nach der Überlieferung wird der Name des Weibes Abrahams vom Herrn in שָׂרָה geändert. Weshalb aber diese Änderung, wenn beide

gleicher Bedeutung wären? Dass es sich aber eben nicht bloss um eine Änderung der Schreibweise handelt, wird gewährleistet durch die ähnliche Umgestaltung des Namen ihres Mannes aus אברם in אברהם, sowie durch die Umschrift der Spt. $\Sigma\alpha\alpha = \text{שָׂרִי}$, aber $\Sigma\alpha\alpha = \text{שָׂרָה}$. Auch bei der Frau wird durch den Namenwechsel ein anderer Gedanke zum Ausdruck gebracht als der im Worte שָׂרִי sich kundgebende. Weil שָׂרָה die weibliche Form zu שָׂר "Fürst" ist, bleibt für שָׂרִי nur eine שָׂרָה übrig; denn ein שָׂרִי scheint das Hebräische nicht zu kennen.¹ Die griechische Umschreibung $\Sigma\alpha\alpha$ deutet trotz des Fehlens des י, das übrigens auch in סִינִי nicht wiedergegeben wird, auf Bedeutungsverschiedenheit hin. Bemerkenswert ist auch noch, dass Sarahs Enkel den Namen יִשְׂרָאֵל führt und später שָׂרָה beliebt ist. Dazu gehört arab. شَرَى als dessen Grund-

bedeutung nach Lane *Ar.-Engl. Lexicon* anzunehmen sein wird: "ausbreiten, sich ausdehnen; ausharren, Ausdauer zeigen."² Jakob zeigt Ausdauer (שָׂרִי) gegenüber Gott und Menschen und obsiegt, daher besagt יִשְׂרָאֵל "Gott zeige Ausdauer!" in der Fürsorge für seine Freunde; שָׂרָה Yahwe zeigt Ausdauer; שָׂרִי muss dann eine intr. qatil Form sein nach Barth, § 10c. "Ausdauer zeigend, beharrlich" in soweit, wie Unfruchtbarkeit in Betracht kommt; denn dass der Namenwechsel damit im Zusammenhange steht, geht aus der unmittelbar folgenden Verheissung eines Sohnes hervor. Natürlich wird bei der ursprünglichen Benennung der Sarah ein anderes Ereignis zu dem Namen Anlass gegeben haben. Ähnlicher Bildung ist arab. شَرَى "ausdauerndes (Pferd)" (Barth, § 28b; 30c). Aus der Wurzel

שָׂר ist als fernere Ableitung geflossen מִשָּׂרָה, Jes. 9:5, 6. Es wurde übersetzt ἀρχή (das aber ein מִשָּׂרָה voraussetzt, weil auch nicht die Spur einer שָׂרָה = "herrschen" zu entdecken ist), μέτρον

¹ In שָׂרִי kann keine Femininendung stecken, auch bei einer Ableitung von שָׂר, sondern man muss die Bildung dann mit שָׂרִי, סָרִי, נָסִי, זָרִי gleichstellen, deren י durchaus nichts mit dem Geschlechte des Wortes zu tun hat. Bei wurzelhaftem י aber erklärt sich $\Sigma\alpha\alpha$ der Spt., indem diese zwar nicht die ältere Lautgestalt, aber doch die Aussprache wiedergibt. Aus יָרִי wurde יָרָה, zu יָרָה vgl. יָרָה, יָרָה vgl. mit יָרָה, die alle den Verlust des Endlautes der Wurzel beweisen. (Gegen König, *Lehrgebäude*, II, 427; Brockelmann, *Vergl. Gr.*, I, 412.)

² Eig. sich über die Wolken zerstreuen, anhaltend blitzen; sich verbreiten (Übel); anwachsen, gross werden (Ereignis); beharrlich sein (in einer Angelegenheit, im Irrtum, Laufen, Gang, schlechten Betragen).

= מְשָׁרָה und *παῖδα* = *מְשָׁרָה (?) für מוֹרָר. Das erweist, wie früh schon die Bedeutung dieses Wortes vergessen war. Zu שָׁרָה gezogen, ergibt sich die Bedeutung "Dauerhaftigkeit, Stätigkeit, Bestand." In dem Namen שָׁרִירִין zeigt sich noch die zu Grunde liegende Anschauung "sich ausdehnen" wie in arab. شَرَى "Weg, Gebirge"; شَرَاة "ausgedehnte Fläche"; شَرِيَان "Schlagader, Spalte." שָׁרִירִין ist also die "Ausdehnung" im ganz besonderen Sinne wie manches גָּבַע oder רָמָה.³ Ein anderes Beispiel der Unterschiebung eines Hilfs=a in einer qatil Bildung ist der Mannesname שָׁרִי für שָׁרִי *vgl. arab. سَرَى "mannhaft, kühn, hochherzig" zu سَرَى. Dies Zeitwort liegt in Jer. 15:11 vor, als Qr. im Piel שָׁרִיתָךְ mit causativer Bedeutung "kühn, stark machen" und als Inf. Qal. שָׁרִיתָךְ (*Ges.-K.*, § 114 q; 115 e) "Dein Mannhaft sein=du sollst mannhaft sein." Zur arab. Wurzel سَرَا "von sich entfernen, abwehren," die sich aus den Bedeutungen "Eier absondern, die Kleider ablegen" ergibt, sowie aus سَرَوَة "Land, das höher als ein Tal, aber niedriger als ein Berg ist" und سَرَاة "Rücken, Mitte eines Weges, des Tages," gehören im hebr. שָׁרָה "Pfeil" als der Entsandte (=arab. سَرَوَة) und שָׁרִירִין ein Beschreibewort "etwas, das abwehrt" (Barth, § 207, 1). Zusammen mit שָׁרִי wird auch ein שָׁרִי genannt (Esr. 10:40) = Spt. Σεσεί, während שָׁרִי durch Σαρριου (Σαρρε, 'Αρρ) wiedergegeben ist. Vielleicht hat die Nachbarschaft dieses Namens die Punktierung שָׁרִי beeinflusst; denn mit שָׁרִי, שָׁרִי, שָׁרִי, שָׁרִי gehört es zu einer Wurzel שָׁרַשׁ, arab. سَاس " (be)herrschen, verwalten, leiten."⁴

Die Beispiele שָׁרִי und שָׁרִי zeigen, dass das End-ı nicht im Stande war, sich bei gleichartigem Klinger ı zu halten sondern als

³ Das einmalige שָׁרָה Jes. 28:25 gehört als qātilat (s. Brockelmann S. 343) zu שָׁרָה als abgezogener Infinitiv "Ausbreitung d. 1. Saatstrelfen," wie Dalman *ZDPV.* 28:32 auf Grund der Targumübersetzung לְגִיָּה ausführt. Es ist aber nicht mit dem arab. مَسَارَة (=aram. מְשָׁרָה) verwandt, weil dieses eine Entlehnung ist (nach Schulthess *ZA.* 19:130). Endlich steckt die Wurzel noch in מְשָׁרָה (Barth, *Nom.-bild.*, § 240) "flaches Gerät, Pfanne."

⁴ Der name מְשָׁרָה aus einer שָׁרַשׁ Wurzel ist noch nicht sicher zu anderen semitischen Stämmen gestellt worden.

Stütze eines $\dot{\text{a}}$ bedurfte. Aus dem gleichen Grunde hat auch das Imperf. der endschwachen Zeitwörter ohne Rücksicht auf den ursprünglichen Schlusslaut überall ausgeglichen und für die 3. p. sg. als gemeinsamen Laut $\dot{\text{a}}$ eingesetzt, der sich im lebendigen Sprachgebrauche zu הָ entwickelte. Dies geht deutlich aus den folgenden als Eigennamen gebrauchten Imperfecten hervor.

יְחַיֶּה = arab. يَحْيِي von حَي "beschützen." In diesem wie in manchen folgenden Namen ist das Subjekt "Gott" als selbstverständlich nicht jedesmal ausgedrückt. יְהִדִּי arab. يَهْدِي "er führt" zu هָדִי . Zu יַעֲנֶה "er antwortet" gehört vielleicht arab. عَنَى "meinen, beabsichtigen" (Lane, 2180, Spalte 3), und zu יַעֲמִי "er macht" arab. عَمَى "zu jem. od. etw. kommen, eine Sache tun, sich beschäftigen mit etw." Dagegen hat das Kt. an dieser Stelle Esr. 10:37 יַעֲשֶׂה καὶ ἐποίησαν. Man ist versucht יַעֲשֶׂה dazustellen und auf عָשَى "bedecken, überwältigen" zurückzuführen, das nach Ausweis des hebr. und arab. عُشْوَة , "Bedeckung, Hülle" und عُشَاوَة , "Decke" auf ursprüngliches عَشَو hindeutet. Dann wäre יַעֲשֶׂה (?) "er ist bedeckt, zottig" zu lesen. In 2 Ch. 9:29 lautet das Kt. יַעֲדֶה Ιωηλ, Ιωηδ , d.h. יַעֲדֶה war die Lesung der Übersetzer ohne Bezugnahme auf das Endyod. Wenn die Zusammenstellung im *Hebrew Lexicon* sich bewahrheiten sollte (עָדָה "sich schmücken": arab. عَدَى , "breiter Grabstein," عَدَوَى "Räude, Schorf"), hat das Qr. יַעֲדֶה auf die zu Grunde liegende עָד Wurzel zurückgegriffen und auch hier einen Hilfsklinger $\dot{\text{a}}$ eingesetzt; denn ursprünglich würde يَعْدُو die Form gelautet haben. Das Kt. יַעֲדֶה dagegen hat die den עָד Zeitwörtern eignende Form angenommen. Auch das hierzu gehörige Mittelwort יַעֲדֶה ist in die עָד übergetreten, hat aber nicht die Endung iy , wie man nach dem entsprechenden arab. مُعَدِّ erwarten sollte, sondern als Lautstütze $\dot{\text{a}}$. Einige עָד Namen zeigen, wahrscheinlich durch Angleichung an die עָד , dieses $\dot{\text{a}}$ noch deutlicher. יַעֲדֶה Hi. impf. "er bringt Freude" zu יַעֲדֶה , mit Endwau, wie יַעֲדֶה zeigt. Sollte hierher arab. حَدَا

gehören "Kamele durch Singen antreiben; Wolken fortreiben" (vom Winde gesagt, wobei das Brausen die Hauptsache spielt)? Sobald aber das Subjekt genannt wird יָדָו, אֵל, fällt das Hilfs=ä fort und alle werden als transitive ל"י behandelt. So ergeben sich יִצְחָאֵל, יְהוֹרֵאֵל. Der Ursprung dieses י Lautes ergibt sich deutlich aus den beiden Namen הוֹרֵיָה und יִשְׂרָיָה. Der erste kennzeichnet das Kind als ein Lobpreis Gottes. Das erste Glied הוֹרֵי kann nur Einzahl sein, somit gibt das י sich als einen Bestandteil der Wurzel zu erkennen. Wegen der folgenden Objektsangabe ist die Zusammenziehung zu י wie in dem vorhergehenden Beispiele nicht eingetreten. Hierher gehört auch die ausserbiblische Form יִדָּא Lidzbarski, *Ephem. für Sem. Epigr.*, I, 76, die mit den Namen אֶנְנָא, שְׁנָנָא auf Grund der Umschrift 'Iaδḥṣ auf gleiche Stufe zu stellen ist als eine qatil Bildung, vgl. noch hbr. יִדְיָה. Dagegen stellt das Kt. Esr. 10:43 wegen der griechischen Wiedergabe 'Iaδδaios Lidzbarski, I, 76, und dem Vorbilde יִדְיָ, יִדְיָ, יִדְיָ u.s.w. eine Ableitung zu יִדָּר dar, d.h. "Liebender." יִדְיָ 1 Ch. 27:21 wo die Spt. fast durchweg 'Ia(δ)δai bietet, könnte auf das Qal Impf. von נָדָה zurückgeführt werden, s. נָדָה "Gabe," arab. نَدَا "freigebig, grossmütig sein." Der Name יִשְׂרָיָה enthält den gleichen Stamm wie יִשְׂרָיָה. Denn wie die griechische Umschreibung von שָׁרָי Σαπα und סְרִיָּ Σ(ε)ιβα zeigen, war das י am Ende für die alten Hebräer nicht aussprechbar und wurde deshalb schon früh durch Zusammenziehung in יִ abgeschwächt. Aber in Eigennamen erhielt sich der anfänglich zur Stütze eingefügte Klinger ä länger, auch nach den Erlöschen des י, und wurde verlängert in יִי. Daraus erklären sich eine Anzahl männlicher Namen, die augenscheinlich eine weibliche Endung haben, z.B. יִמְרָה; יִשְׂרָה; יִשְׂפָה; יִחְסָה; arab. وَحَى "weisen, eingeben; IV etw. offenbaren."⁵ Zu der durch die oben angeführten Namen erwiesenen Wurzel יִשָּׁה gehört auch יִשְׂי als Qal Impf. Ausser in diesen Namen steckt dies יִשָּׁה noch in יִשְׂ mit abgefallenem 3. Radical wie in שָׂם; גָּב; גִּישׁ; שָׂד; שָׂד, und in יִשְׂרָיָה. Die Grundbedeutung ersieht man aus ass. išu "haben, besitzen"; gehört etwa

⁵ יִדְיָ könnte hiermit zu vereinigen sein als Niph. ptc. doch ist der Name auch als qātilat (Barth, § 98 b β) zu יִדְיָ denkbar.

⁶ S. König, *Lehrg.*, II, 85.

auch ass. (i) ašū "Wesen, Tier, Vieh" hierher als "Besitz"? Durch die Form יִשְׁוֹה "Yahwe gibt als Besitz" ist die ו־יִשְׁוֹה als ein ו־יִשְׁוֹה gekennzeichnet. In יִשְׁי "er besitzt" hat sich die Angleichung an die ו־יִשְׁ schon vollzogen, weil der w=Laut am Ende stand; er hat sich aber in dem späteren יִשְׁוֹה erhalten, weil ihn die Verbindung schützte.

Wie in יִשְׁוֹה nach dem Verstummen des letzten Lautes nur das verlängerte a übrigblieb, so bewahren auch die zusammengesetzten Namen יִשְׁוֹה־הַמְצַבֵּה, יִשְׁוֹה־קוֹלֵה in dem ו־יִשְׁ die Erinnerung an die Übergehung des schliessenden י oder ו.⁷ Dass der erste Bestandteil keine weibliche Endung enthält, offenbart sich in dem Subject Yahwe. In יִשְׁוֹה־יִשְׁוֹה ist יִשְׁוֹה das Po'el Impf. zu יִשְׁוֹה "sich bücken, niederwerfen" יִשְׁוֹה־יִשְׁוֹה "Yahwe lässt sich herab(?)." מְצַבֵּה, geschützt wegen ὁ Μεσσωβία, Μασσαβία in 1 Ch. 11:47, ist Mittelwort zum Po'el von צַבֵּה, woraus das hbr. nur die Ableitung צַבֵּה "Herrlichkeit, Zierde" hat. Das lässt auf eine Bedeutung "zieren, ehren" schliessen: מְצַבֵּה also "Yahwe ehrt." Wie allgemein der Schwund dieses י oder ו am Ende war, zeigen die Namen der 3 p. s. Pf. in Verbindung, wo es der regelrechte Vorgang ist, vgl. יִשְׁוֹה־רָאָה, יִשְׁוֹה־עָשָׂה mit Formen, die noch in der Schrift das stellvertretende ה gehalten haben wie יִשְׁוֹה־פָּרְהָל, יִשְׁוֹה־עָשָׂה.

Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 136, Anm., legt besonders Gewicht auf die Gleichung גָּלָה = جَال zum Beweise dass dies גָּלָה gleich *גָּלָה sei. Ebenso erklärt König, *Lehrgebäude*, I, § 41, das Mittelwort גָּלָה als eine qatil Form. Das ist auch für die semitische Ursprache der Fall. Aber auch hier hat das Hebräische zusammen mit dem Aramäischen einen eigenen Entwicklungsgang eingeschlagen. Um die dem Sprachgefühl dieser Stämme widerstrebende Lautfolge iɿ zu mildern, griffen sie als Abhilfe zur Unterschiebung eines ä für das i, um die bequemere Endung äi zu erhalten. Zur Erhärtung dieses Satzes betrachte man den Namen קוֹלֵה. Es ist ausgeschlossen wegen des ו־יִשְׁ unter ל dies mit "Oxford Hebrew Lexicon" als "Stimme Yahs" zu fassen; denn dies müsste nach der Bildung קוֹלֵה־טַבָּל etwa *קוֹלֵה־טַבָּל gelautet haben. Vielmehr ist in קוֹלֵה als erstes Glied ein actives

⁷ Dies — kennzeichnet das erste Glied als Zeitwort, denn die Hauptwörter wie מְעַשֵּׂה, מְקַנֵּה, מְחַסֵּה heben sich durch das ו־יִשְׁ der Verbindungsform deutlich davon ab. In מְעַנֵּה steckt eine Bildung wie מְעַנֵּה : *מְעַנֵּה.

Particip **קִלְיָה** von **קָלָה** "gering schätzen, verachten" zu sehen, dessen 3. Wurzellaute wie in den früher angeführten Namen erloschen ist. Natürlich kann dies **קִלְיָה** auch eine Po'elbildung sein; doch bleibt die Bedeutung "Yahwe verachtet" (ihn, den Neugeborenen) bei beiden Annahmen die gleiche. Die hier vorgetragene Deutung erhält verstärkende Beweiskraft durch den Beinamen desselben Mannes **קָלִיטָא** zu jüd.-aram. **קלט** "zusammenziehen," demnach "Zusammengeschrumpfter, Knirps" (vgl. Barth, § 126). Klarer erhellt der parasitische Charakter des **ā** in dem 2 Ch. 33:19 vorkommenden **חֹרֵי**. Dies kann nur zur **חזה** gehören und auch nur ein Mittelwort sein "der Sehende." Wenn auch die Stelle nicht ohne Verdacht ist, es bleibt doch die Tatsache bestehen, dass die Massora lieber Pathach als Hireq schrieb. Für **יֹרִי** 1 Ch. 5:13 kommt einzig und allein **יִרָה** in Betracht und wiederum in der Form des Mittelwortes. Est ist bemerkenswert, dass neben **יֹרִי** die Form **יֹרָה** mit Verlust des letzten Wurzellautes in Umgang war. Jedoch steht für **יֹרָה** Esr. 2:18 in der entsprechenden Stelle Neh. 7:24 **חֲרִיָּה** "Herbst," das macht es wahrscheinlich, in **יֹרָה** und auch **יֹרִי** ältere Stufen des Hauptwortes **יֹרָה** "Regen" zu sehen. Weil nun im ganzen hebräischen Wortschatze auch nicht von einem einzigen mittelschwachen **י**-Zeitworte eine qatl-Ableitung, vermehrt durch die Endung **יָ**, gebildet worden ist,⁸ sondern nur mit **יָ** **אֹרִי**, **סֹרִי**, **חֹרִי**, wird **שֹׁבִי** Esr. 2:42; Neh. 7:45, als Participial-Bildung zu **שָׁבָה** "wegführen, sich etw. unterwerfen" betrachtet werden müssen. Der in **שֹׁבִי** "(Gott ist) einer, der wegführt" steckende Gedanke kehrt in **שְׁבוּאָל** "Gottes Gefangenschaft" wieder.⁹ 2 S 17:27 ist nur auf **שֹׁבִי** zurückzuführen, etwa "Rückkehr" als Bezeichnung für den Ersatz eines gestorbenen Kindes (Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur sem.*

⁸ **צֹפִי** 1 Ch. 6:11 **Σουφει** ist aus einem **צֹפֶה** möglich, im punischen findet sich lat. Sipo, Sapho (= hbr. **צֹפֶה**?). Es stehen aber so widersprechende Formen diesem zur Seite, nämlich **צִיָּה** 1 Ch. 6:20; **צֹפִים** 1 S. 1:1 = Spt. **Σειφα**, dass vorderhand eine Entscheidung schwer zu machen ist. **חֹרִי** **βυσσος** ist hergeleitet von einer starken Wurzel **חָרַר** arab. **حور** I "das Weisses vom Schwarzen deutlich geschieden haben (Auge);" II **weissen** (Zeug); **حور** "weisses Leder; Pappel." Das Qre **חֹרֵי** 2 S. 23:9 ist gestützt durch Spt. **νιδς παραδελφου αυτου** mit vielleicht späterer Hinzufügung von **δουδεις** (**Σουσει, Σωσει**), in 1 Ch. 27:4, wo M **חֹרֵי** liest, findet man in Spt. **Δωδ(ε)α** = **חֹרֵיָה**. Dass der Text nicht völlig in Ordnung ist, zeigt der Ausfall von **אֶלְעָזָר** (1 Ch. 11:12).

⁹ Damit vergleiche man aram. **שְׁבוּרָא** (Dalman, *Aram. Wb.*) und palm. **שבא** **שְׁבוּרָא** = **σβαας** (Lidzbarski, *Eph.*, II, 16).

Sprachwiss., S. 100). שָׁטַר Esr. 2:55; שָׁטַר Neh. 7:57 fallen in dieselbe Abteilung als tätige Mittelworte zu שָׁטַר "abtrünnig werden," arab. شَطَى II " (ein Tier) abhäuten und zerlegen," VIII "sich abzweigen." شَطَا (in Syrien) "Splitter." Als ein exilischer Name bereitet das ש gegenüber dem ש keine Schwierigkeit, findet sich doch auch שָׁטַר gegenüber שָׁטַר.¹⁰ Zwei nur im schriftlichen Texte sich findende Namen נָרַב und נָרַבִּי reihe ich gleichfalls als tätige Mittelworte hier ein; denn die Spt. hat nur Formen, die das נ als ursprünglich erweisen. Für נָרַב Neh. 10:20 lautet die Umschrift *Nw̄sau* oder mit Umstellung der Mitlaute *Bwau*. In palmyr. Inschriften findet sich נָרַב (Lidzbarski, I, 206), das möglicherweise zu derselben Wurzel gehört. Darum punktiere man נָרַב part. act. zu arab. نَبَا "entfernt sein; trübe werden (Augen); das Ziel verfehlen (Pfeil)"; نَبْوَة "Anhöhe"; نَاب "fern, entlegen (Sache)." Das Hebräische bewahrt die נבה/√ in dem Bergnamen נָרַב auf moabitischem Gebiete zwar; ferner noch in den Namen נָרַב=נָבֹת (vgl. נָרַב: נָרַב*). נָרַב "der Hohe, Grosse" ist, ähnlich den Personen שָׁנִיב und רָם, vielleicht wegen seiner Körpergrösse so benannt. Zu diesem נָרַב steht punisch *Nw̄sas* (Lidzb., I, 52) im gleichen Verhältnis wie hb. יִרְדָּה zu aram. יִרְדִּי (Levy, *Nhb. u. chald. Wb.*) oder oben יִרְדָּה zu יִרְדִּי d.h. die eine Sprache warf den Endlaut א ab, während die hebräische ihn beibehielt.¹¹ Die Lesung נָרַבִּי legt Zeugnis ab, dass bei der Zeit der Punktierung keine Wurzel נבה mehr bekannt war; denn die geforderte Form ist eine qatl-Bildung (Barth, § 20 b) mit ableitendem אִ- zu der אִ- Wurzel נָב arab. نَاب (ی) II+V "keimen, sprossen, wachsen," wie auch die hebräische Ableitung נָבִיב zeigt; dagegen haben die Zeitwortformen die der אִ- angenommen und das Kt. Jes. 57:19 נָב wird deshalb wohl das pass. Partic. נָב "Erzeugnis" sein. Wenn ein נָבִיב oder נָבִיב* bestanden

¹⁰ שָׁטַר Ps. 40:5 gehört möglicherweise zu aram. שָׁטַר "bewegen, erschüttern; Ithpe. sich ängstigen." שָׁטַר "Tadler, Krittiker," und besonders arab. سَاط "mischen; etw. überdenken; handhaben, betreiben." Es heisst "Erreger, Betreiber der Lüge."

¹¹ Vgl. Bem. 1. Nach Bem. 6 stelle ich auch den Stadtnamen נָב zu נָבִיב und Βαβυ-
βας Apg. 4:36 (νῖος παρακλήσεως) "Sohn der Erhöhung, Erhebung." Zur Schreibung s.
Bem. 9 σαβας.

hätte, wäre für die Massora keine Veranlassung vorhanden gewesen, das ך in ך zu ändern. In עֵינַי Jer. 40:8 liegt die Sache ähnlich. Ein עֵינַי "dunkel sein" war aus den hebräischen Texten bekannt, mit עֵינַי "Laub" scheint man keine Verbindung angestrebt zu haben. Spt. spricht ein gewichtiges Wort für ך in der Wiedergabe $\text{Ιωφε}(\theta)$ und $\text{Ωφε}(\tau)$. Die Zusammenstellung mit עֵינַי "fliegen" ist wohl ausgeschlossen, die Umschrift der Endung ϵ erlaubt den Rückschluss auf ein עֵינַי , und die Form lautete somit עֵינַי = arab. عَفَا "langhaarig" als actives Mittelwort zu עֵינַי arab. عَفَا "lang und reichlich sein (Haar, Gras), üppig wachsen lassen (Haare des Kamels)"; dazu passt auch עֵינַי "Laub." Zu den Eigennamen mag auch גִּבְרִי "Heuschrecke" gerechnet werden. Wegen der untergeordneten Bedeutung des ג entspricht dies Wort ganz dem arab. جَاب aus جَبَا "sammeln (Steuern, Wasser)." Daneben besteht jedoch جَابِي "Heuschrecke"; aber, bemerkt Hoffmann, ZAW, 3:118, da es auch ohne Hamza gesprochen wird, mag es aus dem paläst. גִּבְרִי herübergenommen sein, sodass man es auch nicht für die Wurzel des hbr. Wortes in Anspruch nehmen kann (Barth, § 231 g). Brockelmanns Ansicht (Vergl. Gr., I, 412), גִּבְרִי sei weibliche Ableitung aus גִּבְרִי , ist hinfällig, weil das Hebräische keine Bildungen dieser Art aus mittelschwachen Stämmen zu kennen scheint, und die verwandten Sprachen bieten keinen für "Heuschrecke" passenden Begriff in einer גִּבְרִי . Eine solche steckt zwar möglicherweise in dem Eigennamen גִּבְרִי 2 S. 21:18 arab. جَوْبَة "Kluft, Grube" und in جَب "Grube" zu arab. جَاب (و) "bohren (Brunnen), ausschneiden (Kleider)." גִּבְרִי ist "der Sammler" der Ernte, nicht der Einbohrende. Übrigens ist גִּבְרִי im Späthebräischen männlich. (ZAW, 16:68, 69; 25:328). Endlich zwingen gewichtige Gründe, auch עֵינַי 1 Ch. 9:4 hierher zu ziehen. Nach dem Muster von הוֹשִׁיעַ , הוֹרִי , הוֹדִי (?) kann man es nur auf eine Wurzel עֵינַי zurückführen. Eine solche aber bietet das Hebräische nicht; denn לְעֵינַי Jes. 50:4 hat Sym. ὁμιλία "Verkehr, Umgang" übersetzt, was durch arab. لَعِيَ I "einer Sache zugetan, ergeben sein, III scherzen, spassen" und لَعَا "sprechen" seine Bestätigung findet. Weil der Name עֵינַי schwerlich von

עֲתִידָה Neh. 11:4 getrennt werden kann, liegt der Verdacht nahe, daß die Punktierung עֲתִידָה einer volksetymologischen Umdeutung nach dem aram. עִתָּה "helfen" entsprungen ist.¹² In 1 Ch. 9:4 liest Spt. Γωθ(ε)ι; Esr. 8:14 Ουθ(α)ι; 1 Esr. 8:40 Ουτου, Ουθι. In Ch. scheint noch eine Spur vorhanden zu sein, dass nicht ה sondern ו gelesen wurde.¹ Ein solches עֲתִידָה verhält sich zu עֲתִידָה wie הִידָה zu הִידָה; es ist tätiges Participle zu עָלָה "stolz, hochmütig sein," עָלָה "anmassend." Man kann zum Vergleich den syrischen Frauennamen חַבִּי und palmyr. עֲתִי heranziehen.

Durch die behandelten Namen hoffe ich verdeutlicht zu haben, dass die Hebräer nicht ein ך in der Schlussilbe auszusprechen gewohnt waren, wenn dies ך (oder ך) ein der Wurzel angehöriger Laut war. Nicht in diese Regel einbegriffen sind die Ableitungselemente ך in שִׁבְיָה, נְבוֹאִיָּה; diese blieben unverändert, nur die stammhaften ך und ך bedurften eines Klingers von abweichender Beschaffenheit; dazu ersahen sich die Hebräer den Laut ך. Diese Folge ך ergab in ganz natürlicher Entwicklung ך und noch mehr verflüchtigt ך mit ך als Anzeiger eines von dem Hilfsklinger aufgesogenen ך oder ך.

¹² Gegen Prätorius' Deutung ZDMG. 57: 525, spricht, dass, von zweifelhaften Fällen wie עֲתִידָה abgesehen, keine qūtal Gebilde im Hebräischen vorkommen, sowie der kaum zu leugnende Zusammenhang der Form qutail mit qutāl (Brockelmann, *Vergl. Gr.*, I, 353, Anm. 4). Falls sich עֲתִידָה "ein wenig" als qutail bewahrheiten sollte, könnten Formen wie עֲתִידָה, עֲתִידָה nicht für den Ursprung der qutail-Bildung im Hebr. in Anspruch genommen werden und diese Ableitung würde dann die Deutung von עֲתִידָה bei Prätorius noch mehr entkräften.

BABYLONIAN TAMMUZ LAMENTATIONS

BM TABLET 23702. PUBLISHED IN *CT* XV 28 AND 29

Text, Translation, and Notes
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There are sixteen tablets of hymns in the collection of plates 7 to 30 found in *CT*, XV. Fourteen of them have been translated and published by Professor J. Dyneley Prince, Ph.D., of Columbia University, and myself. This is the fifteenth, and Dr. Prince will soon have the sixteenth ready for publication. The present tablet contains two hymns.

First Hymn.—This hymn seems to be connected with the stay of Tammuz in the Lower World. Tammuz (DUMU-ZI), who, in his former glory before the climax of the summer solstice, was, so to speak, the unique 'mother' of the heavens (as the epithet AMA-UŠUMGAL-ANNA seems to suggest), is now the shepherd (LAḪ-BA) of the Underworld (E-TURRA). His consort (NITA-LĀM-A-NI) Ištar is with him. She appeals to Tammuz to regard the wasting life of the vegetable and animal world (KI A-RI-A-ŠŪ GA-RĀ). His response suggests that there is no relief for the present. The goddess, therefore, takes to lamentation (MĀR-ME-MĀR BA-AN-KU) and turns to the house of solitude (-GĪG-DĪM BA-BĀR) to await the arrival of a better day (TUB-BI-ŠŪ IM-MA-AN-GI).

There may be connected with the thought of Tammuz dwelling with his consort in the interior of the earth the idea of their generation of vegetable life for the growth of the coming year.

The idea of bisexual nature in deity as revealed in some ancient Babylonian divine epithets seems to be one from which the thought of a truly universal godhead might proceed.

There are some marks of poetic measure in the lines of this hymn. A caesural pause usually divides the line into two nearly equal parts. Notice the first two lines, for example: first line, first half, UD ḪÉ-GĀL-LA NA-NAM; second half, GĪG NAM-ḪÉ NA-NAM; second line,

first half, ITU KA-ZAL NA-NAM; second half, MU ASILAL NA-NAM. There is also great uniformity in the number of syllables preceding and following the pause, generally five syllables. Notice lines three and four: UD BA SIBA-DE in first half of three; ŠA HÚL-LA AG-DE in second half; Ê-TÚR-RA RÁ-DE in first half of four; HAR-BI UD-GI-DE in second half. There is no sign of the *kīna*, which is an uneven measure giving a plaintive strain, as is developed in some of the lamentations of Hebrew poetry. A line of Hebrew elegy, for example, will be likely to consist of three tone-words before the caesura and two after; see *KHJ*, p. 17.

The cause of the wailing in this hymn is the dying of vegetation which is the support of the flocks.

1. UD HÉ-GÁL-LA NA-NAM GIG NAM-HÉ NA-NAM
The day of plenty is decreed; the night of abundance is decreed;
2. ITU KA-ZAL NA-NAM MU ASILAL NA-NAM
the month of joy is decreed; the year of gladness is decreed.
3. UD BA MULU SIBA-DE ŠA HÚL-LA AG-DE
On that day for the shepherd to make the heart glad,
4. [Ê]-TÚR-RA RÁ-DE HAR-BI UD-GI-DE
to enter the house of rest, to make bright his soul,
5. [AMA]Š(?) AZAG-GA UD-DIM KÁR-KÁR-BI-DE
to lighten the shining sheep-fold like day,
6. [LÁ]H-BA DIMMER DUMU-ZI-DE ŠA-AZAG-GA-NA AN-NIM
to the shepherd Tammuz, who in the midst of his splendor was lifted up,
7. GA-ŠÁ-AN AN-NA GA-ŠÁ-AN AN-KI-A-GE
the mistress of heaven, the mistress of heaven and earth,
8. DŪ-MU-NA-DÊ-E MALGA KU-A-GE
the word she spoke, the counsel of the dwelling,
9. DIMMER AMA-UŠUM-GAL-AN-NA DŪ MU-UN-NA-NI-IB-BI
to Ama-usumgal-anna, the word to him she spoke.
10. ^{SAL} NITA-LÂM-A-NI KI A-BI-A-ŠŪ GA-RÁ
His bride (said), to the wasted land let me go,
11. Ê-TÚR DAMAL-LA-MU GŪB-BI GA-ME-ŠI-TAR
my broad house of rest, its abundance, let me ordain it,
12. AMAŠ AZAG-GA-MU A-GUB-BI GA-ME-ŠI-TAR
my shining fold, its extent, let me proclaim it,
13. UDU-MU-KA ŠAM KŪ GA-ME-ŠI-MAR
for my flock, food to eat, let me prepare it,
14. A NAG DŪG-GA GŪB-BI GA-ME-ŠI-GŪR
good water to drink, in its abundance, let me order it.

15. ^{SAL} NITA-LÀM TUB-BI BA-AN-NA-DŪ
To the bride of his dwelling he spoke.
16. MALGA-A-NI E-NE-RA MU-UN-NA-AN-SI
His counsel to her he gave.
17. ^{SAL} NITA-LÀM-NI TUB-BI-ŠŪ IM-MA-AN-GI
His bride, to her dwelling he caused her to return,
18. AZAG GA-ŠÁ-AN AN-NA-GE Ê-TŪR KALAM-MA-GE
the shining one, the mistress of heaven, to the land's house of rest.
19. UM(?) MU-NI-IN-TU MAR-ME-[]BA-AN-KU
Thither she entered, wailing(?) she set up.
20. MU-GIG-IB GA-ŠA-AN AN-NA[]GIG-DIM BA-BÁR
The goddess, the mistress of heaven, like one in darkness she sitteth,
21. KI ŠUB-GŪ DIŠ KAM-MA
in the place of humiliation. First (part).

Lines 1-21. Dialogue between Ištar and Tammuz.

Lines 1-5, the occasion of the dialogue: time of plenty.

1. ^{HE}(GAN)-^{GÁL}(IG): root = ^{HE}, abstract suffix = ^{GÁL}, meaning = 'abundance,' derivative = Assyrian loan word ^{hēgallu}; for illustration of this derivative see Bilingual text K 4806 lines 10 and 11 (in IV R plate 23) where ^{HE}(GAN)^{GÁL}(IG) = ^{hē-gál-li}. GAN.IG usually applies to abundance of water, irrigation, vegetation. Adad, the storm god, in particular is called 'lord of abundance' ^{Adad be-el hēgallim} (GAN.IG), see CH, xliii, 64.

NA-NAM, probably a verb, not occurring often outside of this collection of hymns, where NA-NAM is used 21 times. As a verb NAM should correspond to ^{šāmu}, as a noun it equals ^{šimtu}.

gig(MI) = ^{mūšu}. NAM-^{HE}(GAN): root = ^{HE}, abstract prefix = NAM, the word is practically synonymous with ^{HE-GÁL}.

2. The sign ^{ITU} = two signs combined, the sign for day and the sign for thirty. KA-ZAL(NI): the choice of values is somewhat a matter of taste; NI(KA)-NI = ^{anap šamni} 'face of oil'; KA-ZAL(NI) = ^{pū mušta-barrū} 'mouth of abundance' or 'satisfied mouth.' BIT.KA.NI in K 2862 lines 26 and 27 (IV R 13) ^{bīti ša ta-šil-ta} 'house of pleasure,' referring to the House of Fifty. ASILAL, according to Sb 352 (AL, p. 101) ^{ri-ša-a-tum} (^{rišātu}) 'joy.'

3, 4, and 5. SIBA-DE occurs three times in this inscription and DE must be a postposition putting SIBA in the oblique case; SIBA composed of PA and LU means 'staff bearer.' MULU is simply a determinative. ^{hādū} = ^{hādū}: it is interesting to note that there is another ^{hul} which is equal to ^{limnu}; similar roots sometimes have antithetical meanings.

AG-DE, RÁ-DE, GI-DE, and KÁR-KÁR-RI-DE are *Hal* clauses which correspond to Semitic infinitives; they express purpose. A sentence of the postpositive conjugation, on the other hand, is usually a relative

clause. We shall find a fine example of a conditional clause later in this text.

TŪB = tarbašu and 𒌷-TŪB also sometimes equals tarbašu; see Br. 2664. 𒌷-TŪB-RA commonly, no doubt, meant 'shelter for the lying down of animals,' but possibly in some places it may be the Sumerian term for the Lower World.

𒊕AR has a value 𒌷 = kirbu (Br. 8535) which would be synonymous in meaning with šĀ(LIB) of the previous line; hence my rendering 'soul.' UD may be an indirect object, or possibly a verb with 𒌷 as a phonetic complement; UD-𒌷 = 'make brilliant.' AMAŠ: we are not sure of this sign either here or below, although a tolerably good sense is secured by the reading AMAŠ. KĀR-KĀR = na bāṭu.

Lines 6-14. Ištar converses with Tammuz. Subject: The drying up of vegetation.

6. DUMU-ZI-DE = noun DUMU-ZI with preposition DE, making Tammuz the object of address. šĀ(LIB)-AZAG-GA-NA AN-NIM: the sense is uncertain; probably the reference is to the one-time position of Tammuz as a sun-god in the heavens. NA appears to be a pronominal suffix. AN.NIM is very unusual; it appears to mean 'high heaven' or 'to be high.'

7. GA-ŠĀ-AN is a phoneticism for GAŠAN which usually applies to a female divinity and is equivalent to bēltu; here, of course, it refers to Ištar.

8. DU(KA) is Eme-Sal for 𒌷(KA). MALGA is a supposed value, the sign being MAL 'structure' and ŠA 'make,' here, of course, in the realm of thought, not of material. MALGA KU-A-GE may mean the deliberate counsel that emanates from the goddess' dwelling.

9. AMA-UŠUM-GAL-AN-NA (DAMAL.GAL.BUL.AN.NA) 'the great unique mother of heaven' would seem to be the name of a female deity, yet it is a common epithetical name applied to Tammuz; see Bilingual text, K 4629, lines 19 and 20 (Reisner, No. IV, p. 136), where we have the equation

MU-UD-NA-NI DIMMER AMA-UŠUM-GAL-AN-NA

𒊕a-á(PI)-ir-ša 𒌷 DUMU-ZI

Bisexuality in Tammuz or, perhaps more truly, that he at an earlier period was regarded as a feminine deity, is evinced by other epithets applied to him aside from AMA-UŠUM-GAL-AN-NA. In the Hymn to Tammuz, No. 20 in CT, and several other places he is called DIMMER KA-DI, name of a feminine divinity. For gender see Mythological Fragments, III R 68, 53 b, which gives the reading GA KA-DI-GE 'the breast of KA-DI.'

The infix NA-NI-IB of MU-UN-NA-NI-IB-BI clearly refers to DIMMER AMA-UŠUM-GAL-AN-NA and also to DU(KA), NA-NI being a reduplicated form of the N-sound 'to him,' and the IB representing the direct object 'it.'

10. SAL NITA(IŠ)-LAM(DAM) = ḫirtu (Br. 10943), but it can as well be ḫairu (Br. 10942), so that SAL need not necessarily be a determinative.

A-RI-A ḥarbu, see K 3152 (IV R), lines 31 and 32 b. GA-RA(DU): GA is precative, evidently of the first person, as the suffix MU in lines 11 and 12 show; the discourse is in the first person.

11. GUB(LI)-BI: the meaning is a little uncertain; 'abundance' no doubt gives the general sense of LI as = rašû. TAR = šāmu.

12, 13, and 14. A-GUB(DU) = tallaktu. UDU(LU) = immeru. ŠAM(Ū) = šamnu or ritu. KĪ = verb akālu. NAG = šatû. GUR(KI) = mu'ûru.

Lines 15-21. Tammuz converses with Ištar. Subject: Nothing to do but to lament.

16, 17, and 18. E-NE-RA probably ana šāši. SI(SE) = nadānu. GĪ = apālu. KALAM(UN) = mātu.

19. UM: there is some uncertainty about the sign, as it is not clearly written; UM may be a verbal prefix of the third person. TU = erēbu. MĀR(ŠA)-ME, probably MĀR(ŠA)-ME-MĀR(ŠA) = ḫūlu 'lamentation.' KU = kānu.

20. MU-GIG-IB, the common Sumerian ideogram for ištarītu 'goddess'; the dialectic form NU-GIG means 'without misfortune.' BĀR is primarily a 'sanctuary'; then we get the idea of 'dweller'; another example of BĀR used as a verb, as it seems to be used here with the verbal prefix BA, is unknown to me.

21. KĪ = ašru. ŠUB(RU) = nadû. GĪ(TIK) = kišādu; KĪ-ŠUB-GĪ = 'place of the bent neck.'

Second Hymn.—In the second hymn the thought advances from that about the decline of vegetable growth to that of unproductiveness in the animal kingdom. The scene of the dialogue is the same as in the first hymn, viz., the Lower World. The chief figure is Tammuz. Probably the second character is Ištar, though she appears under the guise of the sister of Tammuz. She comes before Tammuz with ewe and lamb and kid. When she beholds these offerings she is overcome with the thought that love and unproductiveness in animal life is at a standstill and she bursts into wailing. In other developments of the Tammuz story he himself is the object of lament. He lies stretched on the bier surrounded by mourning musicians. In still later forms of the Tammuz cult the penitential side of grief finds fuller expression and the atoning effect of sacrifice is more fully implied. For further discussion of the Tammuz Cult see *VSH*, pp. 16 and 72.

While the reverse of the tablet is in rather bad condition, its difficulties lie more in the peculiar words and constructions than in the fact of mutilation.

22. UD BA MULU SIBA-DE EDIN-ŠU BA-RA-È
On that day to the shepherd into the field she went out.
23. ME-A DIMMER DUMU-ZI-DE Ê-TÚR-RA GA-RÁ
She spake to Tammuz, unto the house of rest let me go.
24. NIN-A-NI GA-ŠÁ-AN DUP-SAR-GE
His sister, the mistress of tablet writing,
25. AN-DA-KI-BI-DA-ŠU BA-ŠI-LÁU
about heaven and earth she went,
26. AMAŠ AZAG-GA KI-UDU-GIN-RU ŠAB-BA
to the shining fold, the place of the staying of flocks, in its midst.
27. SIBA-DE NIN-A-NI KI-BI BA-AN-SU-NI-ŠU
Unto the shepherd his sister unto his place (she went) to cheer him,
28. TIL-LI-DA AN-ZAL SIBA-DE TIL-LI-DA AN-ZAL
with life she endoweth, for the shepherd, with life she endoweth.
29. NIN-A-NI LUL-LI-GIN ZU-A TUB-BA TIL-LI-DA AN-ZAL
His sister knowing the source of power as a garment with life endoweth.
30. Ê-TÚR-RA HÉ-GÁL IM-MI-IN-SI
The house of rest with abundance shall be filled,

Reverse

31. AMAŠ-E NAM-HÉ-A ZAL-ZAL-E
the fold with plenty abounding,
32. NI-KÚ-DE ŠAM EL NI-KÚ-DE
there shall be eating, there shall be eating of pure food,
33. NI-SUR-SUR-RA LÁL NI-NUN-NA-GE
there shall be pouring out of honey and curdled milk,
34. NI-NAG-DE GAŠ AŠ-AN GAŠ-TIN
there shall be drinking of wine of grain and strong wine.
35. DIMMER DUMU-ZI NIN-A-NI ŠA-HÚL-LA-NI-E-NE
Tammuz (and) his sister, their hearts were glad,
36. LÁU-BA DIMMER DUMU-ZI-DE ŠA-AZAG-GA-NA AN-NIM
for the shepherd Tammuz who in the midst of his glory was lifted up.
37. [ĕ(?)]-MU-UN-ŠI-LAL Ê-TÚR-RA BA-ŠI-IN-TU
She meditated, the house of rest she entered.
38. MU-UN-NA-NI-IN-GIN GANAM PUHAD-BI-DA
She came to him with a ewe and its lamb.
39. PUHAD AMA-BI [- -] Û-MU-UN-NA-AN-TAR
The lamb and its mother, - - she apportioned them to him.
40. BA-ŠI-IN-BAR-RU [- - -] IZ-MI-NI-IN-GIN
He saw them as he stood.
41. SIBA-DE NIN-A-[NI - - -] DÛ MU-UN-NA-DÊ-E
To the shepherd, his sister, the word she spoke.

42. NIN-MU IDE-BAR-RA PUḤAD AMA [- - -] NAM-MU-UN-ŠI-SU- [- -
My sister (said he) I see the lamb and its mother, I am - -
43. NIN-A-NI MU-UN-N[A-NI-IB-GI-GI]
His sister answered him.
44. AMA-A-NI GIG(?)-NA Û-MU-UN-ŠI-[LAL] I-DIB MU-UN-GIN-GIN
Its mother, her affliction I behold, in wailing I go.
45. TUKUNDI-BI GIG-NA Û-MU-[UN-ŠI-LAL I-]DIB MU-UN-GIN-GIN
When her affliction I behold, in wailing I go.
46. RĀ-A NA-ĀM-SI-A-NI MU-UN-[- -]-NA EŠ-A-NI MI-NI-IN-SI
She standeth, her fulness - - her - - are completed.
47. BIR NIN-A-NI[- -] MU-UN-ŠI-BI
With the kid his sister approached.
48. BA-ŠI-IN-BAR-RU [- -] IZ-MI-NI-IN-GIN
He saw it as she stood.
49. SIBA-DE NIN-A-NI [- - DŪ] MU-UN-NA-DĒ-E
To the shepherd, his sister, the word she spoke.
50. NIN-MU IDE-BAR-RA BIR-E NI[N-A-NI - -] NA-ĀM-MU-UN-ŠI-ÛR-ÛR
My sister (said he) I see the kid; she led it up to him.
51. NIN-A-NI ŠĀ NU-TUB-BA-N[A - - MU-]UN-NA-NI-IB-Gf-Gf
His sister whose heart rested not answered him.
52. NIN-A-NI GIG-NA Û-[MU-UN-ŠI-LAL] I-DIB MU-UN-GIN-GIN
His sister, its affliction she beheld, in wailing she went.
53. TUKUNDI-BI GIG-NA Û-MU-UN-[ŠI-LAL] I-DIB MU-UN-GIN-GIN
When its affliction she beheld in wailing she went.
54. TE-ĀM A-RI-A-NI Û-MI-NI-IN-SU-SU
How can her wasting be restored?
55. MĀR-RA ŠES-MU ZU LUM-MA-RA [MU-U]N-NE-TIL BA-BAR-RU
Make it known, O my brother, that fruitfulness be perfect, be seen.
56. A-BA A-GIG-TA AM-MI-NI-IN-TUK-E EN-NA-A-BI GA-TUŠ
Who in the flood shall have power? let him in his height dwell.
57. KI ŠUB-GŪ MIN-KAM-MA
Place of humiliation. Second (part).
58. SIBA-DE SU-NU-UM - - UR SU-LA BA-AN-SU
To the shepherd who - - - - -
59. NIN-A-NI - - DŪ MU-UN-NA-DĒ-E
His sister, the word she spoke.

Lines 22-59. The sister of Tammuz and Tammuz in the Lower World.

Lines 22-26. The sister of Tammuz enters the Lower World.

22. 'On that day': the point of view from which this hymn makes its start is that of the first hymn; drought and want are threatening. EDIN = šêru 'field,' particularly 'desert'; it may refer to the Lower World rather than to the pasture fields. E(UD.DU) = ašû; the infix RA, emphasizing the idea of motion, goes with this verb as commonly.

23. ME-A can mean 'to be,' 'where,' or = paršu 'command,' and also kâlu 'speak,' which is the preferable meaning here since the address appears to be to Tammuz.

24. NIN-A-NI 'his sister'; this is the first time we have this significant expression in this inscription. NIN = aḥātu, Br. 10984. Her name is given in another hymn to Tammuz as MUTIN-ANNA, tablet 15795, CT XV, plate 20, line 21, DIMMER MU-TIN-AN-NA 'wine god of heaven'; the Eme-Ku = DINGIR GIŠ-TIN-AN-NA, GIŠ-TIN being really 'wood of life' or 'strength of life.' DUP-SAR = tupšarru; the abstract noun is generally NAM-DUP-SAR. Gods and goddesses are spoken of as tablet writers, Nabu in particular.

25. AN-DA-KI-BI-DA-ŠÛ, not a regular expression for 'in heaven and earth,' like AN-KI-TA for example; perhaps the nearest to the one we have in our text is AN-KI-BI-DA-GE, K 2962, line 25 (in IV R 29). -BI-DA is often equal to 'and,' or 'with and,' see Br. 5153. LĀg = alāku.

26. The sister of Tammuz in her wanderings about heaven and earth on her way to the Lower World visits the sheep-folds. UDU-GIN-RU: the construction of RU as a postposition is provisional (but see Br. 1447). UDU is a common enough ideogram for 'sheep.' ŠĀB(LIB)-BA is difficult, but ŠĀB-BA can equal kirib-šu as ŠĀB-BI often does.

Lines 27-35. The sister of Tammuz cheering the heart of Tammuz in the Lower World.

27. Doubtful line. SU-NI is perhaps for ŠUN = ibbu; see SU-NA in K 1296, lines 6 and 7 (IV R 21). We seem obliged to make BA-AN-SU-NI-ŠÛ a *ḫal* clause. The thought of the line doubtless is that of Tammuz being consoled by his sister; here we may note the picture of Tammuz rejuvenated on the knees of Ištar in a Chaldaean intaglio (Clercq, Vol. I, Plate IX, No. 83). Tammuz is supposed to have died from his wound; Ištar restored him by the use of magic water.

28. TĪL-LI-DA seems to mean 'unto life' since TĪL(TI) = balātu, but I am doubtful as to how AN-ZAL(NI) should be read; I am inclined to make ZAL a verb.

29. The trouble in this line is with LUL-LI-GIN(DU). I construe the LUL as the object of ZU.

31. If the last sign in the line is E and if ZAL(NI)-ZAL(NI)-E is a verb, then the ending E would indicate present tense.

33. SUR = mazû. LĀL = dišpu. NI-NUN = ḫimêtu. GE at the end of the line is the sign of the genitive.

34. The NAG-sign is not properly made here; the enclosed element should be A, not E.

35. ŠĀ(LIB)-ĜÛL-LA-NI-E-NE 'their glad hearts,' E-NE being one of the common signs of the plural. The construction would allow us to read 'Tammuz, his sister to gladden his heart.'

Lines 36-46. The offering of the lamb in the Lower World and the accompanying wailing.

36. For notes see line 6, of which this is a duplicate.

37. The first sign, almost obliterated, is probably \dot{U} , verbal prefix, the full verbal form no doubt being the same as in line 44. $LAL = \dot{h}a\dot{t}u$ 'behold'; notice $IDE(\dot{S}I)-LAL$ means 'directing the eye.' $TU = er\dot{e}bu$.

38 and 39. $GAMAM = immertu$ 'ewe,' see *MSL*; the sign is not clear, but the context supports the reading 'ewe and her lamb,' see $PUGAD-\dot{A}MA-BI$ in line 39. TAR may = $nak\dot{a}su$ 'cut,' 'slaughter.' It has a meaning similar to BI in line 47.

40. $BAR-RU$ (not simply RU or $\dot{S}UB$): $BAR = par\dot{a}su$, Br. 1814. The verbal prefix $iz(GI\dot{S})$ is indefinite here, though sometimes of the second person, apparently relating to zu .

42. The suffix MU 'my' places the discourse in the first person. $IDE(\dot{S}I)-BAR$ 'piercing eye' = $bar\dot{u}$ or $naplusu$, Br. 9296 and 9297. $NAM-MU-UN-\dot{S}I-SU$: it cannot be assumed that the sign for the verb is the same as in line 50, although we might expect the same verb $\dot{U}R-\dot{U}R$.

43. Verb at end of the line no doubt same as in line 51.

44. $GI\dot{G}-NA$: the sign looks like LUM , but the sense seems to require the similarly formed sign MI , which means 'darkness.'

45. Here we have a Sumerian conditional construction. $\dot{S}\dot{U}.\dot{S}A$. $TUR.LAL$ is read $TUKUNDI$, a loan word from the Semitic $tukumtu$ 'resistance'; $TUKUNDI-BI$ means 'its resistance' to the progress of the thought, hence $\dot{S}UMMA$ 'when.' $I-DIB(LU) = \dot{k}ub\dot{u}$.

46. $NA-\dot{A}M-SI$ is an abstract noun, 'fulness,' 'pregnancy.'

Lines 47-57. The offering of the kid in the Lower World and the accompanying wailing. Rich gives a picture from a seal of a goat being brought to sacrifice, and in the Gilgamesh story of Tammuz and Ištar may be found the following line: $u-mi-\dot{s}am-ma u-ta-ba-\dot{h}a-ak-ki u-ni-ki-ti$ 'he slaughtered young goats for thee daily.' *BN*, VI, 60.

It may be noticed that 47 to 54 are very much like lines 39 to 46, line for line, the chief difference being that BIR occurs in 47-54 where $GAMAM$ and $PUGAD$ occur in 39-46.

$BIR = b\dot{u}lu$ 'cattle' and $\dot{s}ibtu$ 'wealth of cattle,' also $ur\dot{i}su$ and $lal\dot{u}$, both of which no doubt sometimes mean 'kid,' as the phrase $ENZA \dot{U} LAL-A(BIR)-\dot{S}A$ means 'goat and her kid.' $BI = \dot{k}ib\dot{u}$, better $\dot{t}e\dot{h}\dot{u}$.

$NA-\dot{A}M(A.AN)$ = phoneticism for NAM , see line 42. NAM is not a negative here, but a sign of the continued imperfect. $\dot{U}R-\dot{U}R = b\dot{a}'u$.

51. $TUB-BA-NA$: $TUB(KU) = a\dot{s}\dot{a}bu$. NA is a pronominal suffix.

52. Like 44 except in the first word.

53. Duplicate of 45.

54. $TE-\dot{A}M(A.AN) = min\dot{u}$, see Br. 7697. $A-RI-A$, see line 10.

55. mār(ŠA) = bašû. til(BE) = gamâru.

56. a-ab = manû. a-gû(MI) = agû. tuk = aḥāzu 'order.' en-na = elû.

58 and 59 are the first two lines of a third hymn which is not given in this collection.

We might gather from the above hymns that the Babylonians believed Hades to be a place of lying down, of darkness, of forced confinement, of conscious existence, and of sorrow. It is not a place of final abode.

Reference books: K = *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, by C. Bezold. R = *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, prepared by Sir Henry Rawlinson. HW = *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, von Friedrich Delitzsch. Br. = *Classified List of Cuneiform Ideograms*, compiled by Rudolph Brünnow. CH = *The Code of Hammurabi*, edited by Robert Francis Harper. MSL = *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, by John Dyneley Prince. VSH = *Sumerian Hymns*, by Frederick A. Vanderburgh. AL = *Assyrische Lesestücke*, vierte Aufgabe, von Friedrich Delitzsch. KHJ = *Kürzer Hand-Commentar, Das Buch Jesaja*, von D. Karl Marti. Clercq = *Collection de Clercq*, Catalogue, Antiquités Assyriennes. BN = *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*, von Paul Haupt.

A BABYLONIAN LEDGER ACCOUNT OF REEDS AND WOOD¹

(HLC. PL. 16)²

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I	I
1. [2,400+60+34½ GUN 10 GIN] GIŠ- M[A]-N[U]	1. 2,494½ talents 10 shekels of MANU ³ wood;
2. 18,000[+1,800+120+48½ SA-GI]	2. 19,968½ binding reeds ⁴
3. SI-NI-IB SAG	3. remain over ⁵ as a total.
4. 3,600+2,400+420+17 GIRIN GIŠ- MA-NU	4. 6,437 pieces ⁶ of MANU wood;
5. 3,600+2,400+300+12 SA-GI	5. 6,312 binding reeds;
6. C LAL I KAL U I KU	6. 99 men for 1 day; ⁷
7. KI-UR-KI-MAL+AŠ-KA-TA	7. from Ūr-kimal+aš-ka.

¹ There are two other tablets containing similar accounts. They are published in Thureau-Dangin's *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes* (hereafter cited as RTC), Nos. 305, 306. It is proposed to interpret these in subsequent papers.

² That is, Barton's *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets or Documents from the Temple Archives of Telloh*, Part I. Cf. also the corrections in Part II, p. 28.

³ In M. 4843 (i.e., Meissner's *Assyrische Ideogramme*) GIŠ-MA-NU = Eru (cf. also Reisner's *Hymnen* [hereafter cited as RH], 10, 131, CT, XVI, 3, 87; 21, 202. Eru = "cedar"; cf. Muss-Arnolt, *Handwörterbuch* (cited, hereafter as MA), 94a, erā, 6. In K, 165, 16 (Meissner's *Supplement*, Autog. 1) it is explained as GIŠ-NU-UR. It is possible that the sign of separation which appears in several of the lines which precede are here accidentally omitted, and that the two woods are distinct. GIŠ-NU-UR is probably a fig tree; cf. B. (Brünnow's *List*), 1988, HWB, 482a, and Prince, *Sumerian Lexicon*, 265. In K, 2042, rev. la (CT, XII, 45), GIŠ-MA-NU is defined as šī-ga-ru = "bar" or "bolt." Gudea apparently planted some cedars at Širpurla in honor of Ningirsu (see Cyl. A, xiv, 15, and cf. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, 267), but there is no reason to believe that either cedars or figs were sufficiently abundant in Babylonia (figs are not so far as I know mentioned in the contract tablets) so that such quantities as are mentioned here could be cut. GIŠ-MA-NU was some valuable wood, but just what we cannot at present determine.

⁴ SA = markasu, "rope" (B. 3080), Schell, *Délégation en Perse*, IX, No. 10, rev. 2, renders SA-GI "reeds for bending." He finds it in a context where it seems to designate reeds used in connection with making bows. Probably they formed the bow-strings. It is probable that the large quantities enumerated in this account and RTC, 305, 306, were employed as binding-twine or used for making ropes.

⁵ "Remain over," that is from last year. SI-NI-IB is the technical expression in Sumerian book-keeping for "brought forward from old acc't."

⁶ Cf. M. 7697, where the sign is defined as qiršu ša paḫari, i.e., "pieces" or "parts of a collection."

⁷ In accounts of this period the work on a job was always estimated by the number of men it would require to do it in one day.

8. 108,000+28,800+2,400+400 SA-GI
9. KI-UR-^dBA-U
10. DUMU UR-^dNINA-TA
11. CXX KAL U I-KU
12. ERIN-KA^a E-GAL-KA GUB-BA
13. GIR KAL-LA
14. 72,000 + 7,200 + 600 + 180 + 36 SA-GI

II

1. KI AL-LA-TA
2. OLXXX KAL U I-KU
3. [KI. DUG]-GUD A-GUB-BA
4. [GIR] GAL-BAR-NE
5. 10,800+2,400+51 SA-GI
6. GI NIG-ŠU GIR-SU-KI-TA GAB-A
7. CXX GUN GIŠ-MA-NU
8. À-ŠAM-ŠU-AG-BI XXX KAL U I-KU
9. KI DUG-GUD GUB-A
10. GIR GU-IL-LA-MA-KI
11. XIV KINGUSILA GUN GIŠ-MA-NU
12. À-ŠAM-ŠU-AG-BI III ŠANABI KAL U I-KU
13. DCCCC X LAL I SA-GI
14. KI GU-LUGAL
ITU NE-LAL-A U I^{kam}
15. 3,600+3,000 SA-GI
16. KI GÀL-^dNI-SI-TA
17. 3,600+3,000 SA-GI
18. KI UR-^dNIN-GIS-ZI-DA-TA
19. ŠE GUR LUGAL

8. 139,600 binding reeds
9. from Ur-^dBau
10. Son of Ur-^dNina;
11. 120 men for one day;
12. the bond-men of the temple brought.
13. GIR-officer: Kalla.
14. 80,016 binding reeds

II

1. from Alla;
2. 180 men for 1 day
3. [which Duggud⁹] brought.
4. [GIR-officer:] Galbarne.
5. 13,251 binding reeds
6. reeds belonging to the city of Girsu are split.
7. 120 talents MANU wood:
8. the cost of their cutting¹⁰ is 30 men for 1 day.
9. which Duggud brought.
10. GIR-officer: Guillamaki.
11. 14½ talents of MANU wood—
12. the cost of its cutting is 3½ men for one day.
13. 909 binding reeds
14. from Gu-lugal, month Nelala,¹¹ 1st day.
15. 6,600 binding reeds
16. from Gal-^dNisi.
17. 6,600 binding reeds
18. from Ur-Ningsizida.
19. A GUR of¹² first quality grain—

^a ERIN-KA, perhaps a shorter form of ERIN-KA-ŠAR (B. 8151) = šābi qišrī.

⁹ Supplied from 1.9 below.

¹⁰ Literally "the wages of their plant-cutting."

¹¹ NE-LAL = month Tebet, or the 10th mo.; cf. M. 3157. It is the month ordinarily called MU-ŠU-UL in the tablets of this period.

¹² That LUGAL in such connections probably refers to the quality of the grain and not to the Imperial GUR of 300 QA of the Sargonic and post-Sargonic time, to distinguish it from the GUR SAG-GAL of 144 QA of the pre-Sargonic and Sargonic time, the existence of which has been demonstrated by Allotte de la Fuye (*Rev. d'Assyr.*, VII, and *Jour. Asiatique*, VI. Série, Tom. XIII, 235 ff.), is shown by the text published by Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, 386, where we have wool LUGAL, or first quality wool, wool UŠ-LUGAL, or second quality wool, wool IIRKAM-UŠ, or third quality wool, and wool IV-UŠ, or fourth quality wool. Such a text shows that the LUGAL qualifies the commodity, not the unit of measure.

III

1. ŠE GUR DUB TA
2. GI-BI 26,200+1,800 SA
3. KI GAL-ZI-NA-TA
4. GI ŠE-TA ŠAM
5. 21,600 IGI-DU-MA-NU
6. GIRIN GIŠ-MA-NU-BI CCCLX
7. 600+420+49 GUN GIŠ-MA-NU
8. A ŠAM-SU-AG-BI CCLXVII ŠUŠANA
KAL U I-KU
9. 3,600 SA-GI
10. KI GU-KUD SIS-AB-KI-MA
11. ŠU-NIGIN 600+60+40 KAL U I-KU
12. ŠU-NIGIN 3,600+49 GUN X GIN
GIŠ-MA-NU
13. GIRIN-BI 7,200+60+38 ŠUŠANA
14. ŠU-NIGIN 3,600+3,000+180+17
GIRIN GIŠ-MA-NU
15. ŠU-NIGIN 216,000+72,000+14,-
400+1,800+56 KINGUSILA SA-GI
16. ŠA-BI-TA
17. 600+240+46 GUN GIŠ-MA-NU
18. 36,000+18,000+480+12 SA-GI

III

1. a GUR of grain, account of
2. Its reeds are 28,000 binders
3. from Galzina—
4. the reeds for grain are the price
5. 21,600 MANU splinters(?)¹³
6. their pieces of MANU wood are 360.
7. 1,069 talents of MANU wood;
8. the cost of its cutting is 267½ men for one day.
9. 3,600 binding reeds
10. which Gukud of Ur (brought).
11. A total of 700¹⁴ men for one day.
12. Total, 3,649 talents ten shekels¹⁵ of MANU wood;
13. their pieces are 7,298½.
14. A total of 6,797¹⁶ pieces of MANU wood.
15. A total of 304,256½¹⁷ binding reeds
16. From them¹⁸
17. 886 talents of MANU wood,
18. 54,492 binding-reeds,

¹³ In M. 7043 defined as šukurru = "spear" (MA. 1034a). Here it must be used in a figurative sense. How much smaller the IGI-DU GIŠ-MA-NU were than the GIRIN GIŠ-MA-NU may be seen by a comparison of 1.6. 21,600 of the former equaled only 360 of the latter.

¹⁴ This total is accurate. It is made up of the following items:

Col. i, 6.	99 men
i, 11.	120 "
ii, 2.	180 "
ii, 8.	30 "
ii, 12.	3½ "
iii, 8.	267½ "
Total.	700 men

¹⁵ It is from this total, by subtracting the weights mentioned in cols. ii, 7, ii, 11, and iii, 7, that the lacuna in col. i, 1 can be filled.

¹⁶ This total does not include the pieces mentioned in the previous line. It accurately represents, however, the pieces which were counted but not weighed, thus:

Col. i, 4	6,437
iii, 6.	360
	<hr/> 6,797

¹⁷ On this total cf. HLC. Pt. II, p. 14. It is from this total that we are able to determine the number to be supplied in the lacuna in col. i, 2.

¹⁸ Up to this point the tablet has dealt with receipts. Here it begins to deal with expenditures.

IV

1. SA-DUG LUGAL
2. 600+26 GUN GIŠ-MA-NU
3. 1,200 IGI-DU-MA-NU
4. 1,200+480+50 LAL 1 GIRIN GIŠ-MA-NU
5. 180,000+18,000+1,200+300+39 BAR SA-GI
6. 60+52 GUN GI-RU-UŠ
7. 640 SA-A GIL-A
8. ZIG-GA NIG AMA ŠA A UD-DA-KA
9. KI EN-LIL^{ki}
10. 600+480+42 GUN GIŠ-MA-NU
11. 3,600+540 SA-GI
12. 21,600 IGI-DU-MA-NU
13. SA-DUG ŠA SIS-AB^{ki}-MA
14. ZIG-GA LUGAL
15. VII GIN LAL IGI VI GAL AZAG-UD
16. GIN 1^a 420+30 SA-TA
17. ZIG-GA 3,000+60+15 SA

V

1. LAL-NI RUG-GA
2. SIS-KAL-LA ŠU-BA-TI
3. A-KA-MAL-MAL
4. ŠU-NIGIN 21,600+1,200 IGI-DU GIŠ-MA-NU

IV

1. (are) the king's tax.¹⁹
2. 626 talents of MANU wood,
3. 1,200 MANU splinters(?),
4. 1,729 pieces of MANU wood,
5. 199,539½ binding reeds,
6. 112 talents of RU-UŠ reeds,
7. 640 damaged²⁰ binding (reeds)—
8. are taken away as a possession presented²¹ for the wages of a day²²
9. ²³In Nippur.²²
10. 1,122 Talents of MANU wood,
11. 4,140 binding reeds,
12. 21,600 MANU splinters(?)
13. are an offering in Ur.
14. The king has taken
15. (7 shekels less ¼ of silver—
16. 1 shekel is for 450 binders)—
17. there were taken away 3,075²⁴ binders.

V

1. The profit is on hand;
2. Siskalla received (it as)
3. the partial payment agreed upon.
4. Total, 22,800²⁵ splinters(?) of MANU wood.

¹⁹ In M. 7247 SA-DUG = satukku = "a royal standard," then, "a sacrifice" (MA. 786b). Here it must from the nature of the subject be reeds and wood given up to the king as a tax.

²⁰ Cf. M. 820, where GIL = ša ḫluqtu.

²¹ Cf. M. 3757, where AMA = kalu and cf. MA. 379.

²² Possibly the "wages of a day" is the wages of the 700 men who cut the reeds and wood and who are mentioned in col. iii, 11. Wages were paid in kind, and in that case the reeds and wood enumerated represent the cost of production. Why Nippur is mentioned is obscure, unless the wood and reed cutters had come from that city. Perhaps the payment canceled a debt owed by the temple of Shirpura to that of Nippur on some other account. In that case it has no reference to the cost of production of these particular reeds.

²³ For KI = ina, see B. 9630.

²⁴ 7 shekels less ¼ = 6½ shekels. This multiplied by 450 (the number of reeds sold for a shekel) = 3075.

²⁵ This is the sum of the numbers mentioned in col. iv, 3 and 12.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 5. GIRIN GIŠ-MA-NU-BI 360+20 | 5. Their pieces of MANU wood are 380. |
| 6. ŠU-NIGIN 2,400+180+54 GUN GIŠ-MA-NU | 6. Total, 2,634 ²⁶ talents of MANU wood. |
| 7. GIRIN-BI 3,600+1,200+420+48 | 7. Their pieces are 5,268. |
| 8. A ŠAM-ŠU-AG-BI 600+58½ KAL U I-KU ✓ | 8. The cost of their cutting is 658½ men for one day. |
| 9. ŠU-NIGIN 1,200+480+50 LAL 1 GIRIN GIŠ-MA-NU | 9. Total, 1,729 ²⁷ pieces of MANU wood. |
| 10. ŠU-NIGIN 216,000+36,000+3,600+2,400+120+51 BAR SA-GI | 10. Total, 258,171½ ²⁸ binding reeds. |
| 11. ŠU-NIGIN 60+52 GUN GI-RU-UŠ | 11. Total, 112 talents of RU-UŠ reeds; |
| 12. GI-BI 600+480+40 SA | 12. its reeds are 1,120 binders. |
| 13. ŠU-NIGIN 600+40 SA-A GIL-A | 13. Total, 640 damaged binding (reeds). |
| 14. GI-BI 600+40 | 14. Their reeds are 640. |
| 15. ZIG-GA LUGAL | 15. The king has taken— |
| 16. ŠU-NIGIN VII GIN LAL IGI VI GAL AZAG | 16. a total of 7 less ¼ shekels of money— |
| 17. GI-BI 3,000+60+15 SA | 17. its reeds are 3,075 binders. |
| 18. LAL-NI RUG-GA | 18. The profit is on hand; |
| 19. SIS-KAL-LA ŠU-BA-TI | 19. Siskalla received (it). |

VI

1. ŠU-NIGIN-(NIGIN) 7,200+120+57 GIRIN GIŠ-MA-NU
2. ŠU-NIGIN-NIGIN 216,000+36,000 10,800+180+26½ SA-GI

VI

1. Grand total, 7,377²⁹ pieces of MANU wood—
2. Grand total, 263,006½³⁰ binding reeds—

²⁶ Made up as follows:

Col. iii, 17.....	886 talents
iv, 2.....	626 "
iv, 10.....	1,122 "
Total.....	2,634 talents

²⁷ A repetition of the item in col. iv, 4.

²⁸ The items forming this total are found in col. iii, 18, iv, 5, and iv, 11. Cf. HLC, II, 13.

²⁹ This grand total is secured by adding to the total of col. v, 9..... 1,729
the number of pieces in the weight of MANU wood, col. v, 7..... 5,268
and the number in the splinters(?) of MANU wood, col. v, 6..... 380

Total..... 7,377

³⁰ This is obtained by adding to the total of col. v, 10, viz. 258,171½
the number mentioned in v, 12, viz. 1,120
the number mentioned in v, 13, viz. 640
and the number mentioned in v, 17, viz. 3,075

Cf. HLC, II, 13..... 263,006½

- | | |
|---|--|
| 3. ŠU-NIGIN-NIGIN 600+58½ KAL U
I-KU | 3. Grand total, 658½ ³¹ men for 1 day— |
| 4. ZIG-GA | 4. are taken away. |
| 5. LAL-NI 3,600+3,000+60+58 ŠU-
ŠANA GIRIN GIŠ-MA-NU | 5. There are on hand 6,718½ pieces of MANU ³² wood, |
| 6. 36,000+3,600+1,200+420+30
ŠUŠANA SA-GI | 6. 41,250½ ³³ binding reeds,— |
| 7. LAL-NI-A-AN | 7. they remain on hand. |
| 8. NIN-ŠID-AG GI | 8. Business transaction (in) reeds |
| 9. UR- ^d BA-U DUMU AB-BA-URU | 9. Of Ur-Bau son of Abba-uru, |
| 10. [IT]U ŠE-KIN-KUD-TA | 10. from the month ŠEKINKUD (Adar) |
| 11. [IT]U DIR-ŠE-KIN-KUD-KU | 11. to DIRŠEKINKUD (second Adar) |
| 12. [IT]U II ^a -kam | 12. two months, |
| 13. [BA]L-BI I ^a -an | 13. its equivalent is one, ³⁴ |
| 14. MU KI-MAŠ ^{ki} BA-ĜUL. | 14. The year Kimash ³⁵ was subjugated. |

This text is an excellent example of Babylonian business methods and bookkeeping. First all the materials are noted, the source from which each item came, the cost of it, and then the total receipts. Then are noted the various items of expenditure; their cost, the totals of these items are noted; then last of all the amounts on hand. It makes a system which might well be called "double entry" and which was in its way as rigidly balanced as a modern account.

³¹ A repetition of the item of col. v, 8.

³² This number is obtained by adding the total mentioned in col. iii, 14, viz. 6,797 to the number in col. iii, 13 (cf. n. 16), viz. 7,298½

thus making the original total 14,095½

From this the total of col. vi, 1 is subtracted, viz. 7,377

leaving the amount on hand 6,718½

³³ This number added to the total in col. vi, 2, viz., 263,006½ completes the number 304,256½, the total in col. iii, 15. Thus, as in the case of the pieces of MANU wood, the two sides of the ledger balance.

³⁴ I.e., the business was accomplished in thirty days although it covered parts of two calendar months.

³⁵ According to Thureau-Dangin, SAK, 232, this was the 44th year of Dungi; according to Myhrman, BE, III¹, 38, his 56th year.

CERTAIN GRAMMATICAL PHENOMENA IN SUMERIAN

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Radau (*Babl. Exped. of the Univ. of Penn.*, Series D, 1910, pp. 16-17, *Notes*) lays down these grammatical principles, which I shall paraphrase as follows:

I. That wherever the suffixes -MA, -ZA, -BA, -NA occur, they are equivalent respectively to -MU, -ZU, -BI, -NI, with postpositional force; i.e., that the A-suffixes invariably indicate the *status obliquus*.

II. That where two nouns stand together in what would be in Semitic the construct relation, they are regarded in Sumerian as a compound noun, as É-A-A-MU = not 'house of my father,' but 'my father-house,' and hence, that, in such cases, the -MU, -ZU, -BI, -NI-form would be used, because the second noun is not considered to be in the oblique state.

III. If such a composite noun is dependent upon a postposition or other noun, the pronominal suffix of the *nomen rectum* must then show the form in -A.

The author is so convinced of the force of these rules that in a communication to me he states that, wherever the rule appears to be neglected, such instances must be due to a "corruption of the text."

All the examples cited by him, pp. 16-17, seem to bear out his theory, which he has carefully safeguarded, however, in two ways: (a) by his explanation of such frequent forms as I-DE-ZA, which is usually rendered 'thine eyes' (for I-DE-ZU), where no postpositional force is evident. Such an apparent infraction of his rule he explains by supposing that here the noun and its suffix stand in the construct relation, the suffix itself being the *nomen rectum* in the oblique state; consequently, he renders I-DE-ZA 'eyes of thine,' but I-DE-ZU 'thine eyes,' a delicate distinction which does not impress one favourably. (b) His second safeguard, which he throws about his theory as to the invariably direct character of the U, I-suffixes, and the equally invariably oblique character of the A-suffixes, is his statement just

noted, that, wherever his rule seems to be broken, such infraction can be due only to a "corruption of the text."

It will readily be observed that a just criticism of his principle is rendered difficult by these protecting barriers, with which he has surrounded himself, particularly by the second one (b), for an assertion that a text is corrupt, because it does not conform to a certain grammatical theory, is always difficult either to substantiate or to refute. The first question which naturally arises is as to what is meant by "corrupt"—does Radau mean badly reproduced by a modern copyist or ungrammatically written by an original scribe? A few cases not cited by Radau, which seem to militate against his theory, will serve to illustrate the doubtful character of the whole discussion.

Thus, Vanderburgh, *Diss.*, p. 57 (CT, XV, 15-16, rev. 27):
^dMER(IM)-RI DUG(KA)-DUG(KA)-GA A-A MUX-NA-ŠU(KU) GEŠ(IZ)-NI BA-ŠI-IN-AG 'when Adad commands (anyone), O Father, upon him he imposes his power' (GEŠ=IZ). Here the -ŠU(KU) is plainly superfluous, as the -NA in MUX-NA would have been sufficient according to Radau's principle; cf. IV, 16, 44b: LÚ-BI MUX-NA = ana eli amêli šuât u, where the -NA, according to Radau, is really postpositional. In the Vanderburgh passage, the text should therefore read either MUX-NA or MUX-N:-ŠU(KU), and certainly not MUX-NA-ŠU(KU), which would be a redundancy. Cf. CT, XV, 11-12, obv. 8: XAR-SAG GUL-LA-ZU-ŠU(KU) 'to destroy thy mountain,' where we have ZU and not -ZA, simply because the postposition ŠU(KU) is expressed.

Similarly, Vanderburgh, *Diss.* on CT, XV, 16-17, obv. 7: I-DE A-A-ZU I-DE ^dMU-UL-LIL-RA ŠE-IR-MA-AL-LA-ZU-NE 'when before thy father, before Mullil, thou art sovereign.' Why not A-A-ZA, or would Radau regard I-DE + A-A as a compound noun? Yet the force of the suffix here must be oblique after I-DE, and I do not believe that I-DE + A-A can be taken as a composite. Cf. just below ŠAB-BA BARA-BABBAR-RA-NA.

In *AJSL*, XXIX, on CT, XV, 22, obv. 11: DIMMER LIG KI-AZAG-GA-MU 'the mighty god of my pure abode.' According to Radau, this should be -MA, as KI-AZAG-GA, itself a compound, must be dependent on DIMMER LIG, which could scarcely be construed as

a compound in one idea with KI-AZAG-GA, although Radau might, of course, so take it, to save his theory. If he were to do so, however, he would have to explain such expressions as *op. cit.*, l. 12: ŠAB-BA BARA-BABBAR-RA-NA 'in the midst of his brilliant shrine,' where ŠAB-BA and BARA-BABBAR are evidently *not* taken as a single compound, following out his rule.

In CT, XV, 23, rev. 6: A ERI-GUL-A-MU 'water for my destroyed city,' a similar difficulty is encountered.

In CT, XV, 18, rev. 36: I-DE-BAR ŠAG-GA-NI NINA NAM-BA-E-BI-BI 'with her gracious aspect Nina verily speaketh,' the -NI is clearly oblique and should be -NA, according to Radau. Is this due to a corrupt text, or to an ignorant scribe?

A number of other similar examples might be cited, which appear not to be in agreement with Radau's theory as to the A-suffixes. Indeed, the author admits in a letter to me that M. Thureau-Dangin wrote to him that these distinctions formulated by Radau are "very often broken through," which certainly appears to be the case from the above examples.

I am ready to admit that the A-vowel in both prefixes and suffixes is apt to have a directive force (Prince, *AJSL*, XXIV, 356), but it is as yet difficult to prove that it *always* has such a force, nor can we regard Radau's statements (pp. 17-18) as definitely showing that infractions of this principle are invariably due to text corruptions or to ignorance on the part of later scribal copyists.

It should be added that he makes no mention of the undoubtedly relative -MU used for all three persons in Sumerian, the existence of which I believe I have shown in *MSL*, p. xxi.

BEL ṬĀBTI

VON ERNST GEORG KLAUBER

Für *bēl ṭāb tī*, einen Ausdruck; der ausserhalb der Briefliteratur nicht allzu häufig begegnet, hat man verschiedene Uebersetzungen vorgeschlagen. Johnston hat ihn zuerst *JAOS*, 18/1, 140 f., u. 19/1, 64 mit "partizan," "friend" übersetzt, dem Delattre, McKnight, und der Schreiber dieser Zeilen folgten. Meissner, dem das Wort zuerst in K. 2729 etc. aufstiess, übersetzte *BA II*, 569 mit "Empfänger der Wohltat," stellte dann selbst *Suppl. Nachtrag*, 105, die Bedeutung "Freund" auf, die er aber neuerdings *DLZ*, 1910, 51, Sp. 3251 zurücknahm *bēl ṭāb tī* bedeuten nicht Freund, sondern "Empfänger der Wohltat." Es dürfte daher geraten sein nocheinmal in Kürze alle Stellen, welche die Bedeutung des Wortes erschliessen lassen, einer Untersuchung zu unterziehen. Es muss aber zunächst die Vorfrage erledigt werden, ob *bēl* mit der Grundbedeutung Herr auch sonst in Zusammensetzungen "Empfänger" heissen kann. Dass *bēl ardi*, *bīti*, *ali*, *pahāti*, *maṣṣarti*, etc., Herr des Sklaven, etc., bedeutet, ist ohneweiter klar. Aber auch *bēl ṭēmi*¹ bedeutet den Berichterstatter nicht *Empfänger* des Berichtes. *Bēl niqē*,² *šu'i*,³ *šamni*⁴ ist derjenige, welcher das Opfer, resp. Lamm oder Oel, darbringen lässt, nicht der Empfänger des Opfers, das nur der Gottheit gebührt. *Bēl gimilli* (*Sarg. Ann.* 294; Winckler, *Sargon* 50) ist der Helfer, nicht der Hilfe Empfangende. Ebenso ist *bēl parši* der Befehlshaber, vgl. Boissier *DA* 226, 20: *bēl parši innasah*^{ah} *lā bēl parši iššakan*^{an}. *Bēl hīti*, *arni* ist der Sünder, nicht derjenige, der Sünde empfängt. *Bēl dabābi* ist der Urheber einer bösen Rede oder eines bösen Planes, der Feind und in dieser Bedeutung bekanntlich ins Syrische übergegangen. Vgl. Virolleaud *Étud. sur la divin.* 25 ff. Z. 15: *miqitti bēl dabābi-šu*⁵ *Rm.* 2, 149, 7 (Boissier

¹ Häufig in den Omenberichten an den König, K. 4, Rv. 12, etc.

² Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, 95.

³ z. B. in *Rm.* 128 (Boissier, *Choix*, 155 Z. 2): *ṭēm bēl šu'i išanni*; *Rm.*² 103, Kol. III, 17 (Boissier, *DA* 18): *ina kakkē ilāni ri-ṣu-ti bēl šu'i illaku*, etc.

⁴ *bēl šamni*, Oelbesitzer; Hunger, *Becherwahrsagung*, 11 (vgl. Text B, 29).

⁵ So ist *bēl* - *ka* - *šu* vielleicht zu lesen statt *bēl a māti*. Hunger, *Tieromina* 117¹¹.

DA 31 f.): ina KI-HUL bēl dabābi-šu dto. Näher einzugehen ist auf bēl limutti, dem Gegensatz zu bēl ṭābti. Maqlu I, 86, II, 48 steht bēl limut-ti-ia und bēlit limut-ti-ia im Parallelismus zu ^{amēl} kaššapi-ia und ^{sa}l kaššapti-ia und bezeichnet offenbar den- oder diejenige, welche Böses zufügen, die Schädiger. In den Omentexten findet sich die Phrase: bēl limutti-ka ša itebbi-ku qat-ka ikaššad ^{ad}6 = "Deinen Feind, welcher sich wider dich erhebt, wird deine Hand packen," eine Deutung, welche durch die ähnliche Stelle:⁷ rubū ia-bi-šu qat-su ikaššad ^{ad} = "der Fürst, seinen Feind, wird seine Hand packen" ihre Bestätigung erhält. Dieselbe Bedeutung hat bēl limutti in K. 216, Rv. 8 (Boissier DA 142; CT XXVII, pl. 34) bēl limutti-ka ikanaš-ka = "Dein Feind wird sich dir beugen" und in K. 3998, Rv. 32 f. (Boissier, DA 148; CT XXVII, pl. 38.) rubū bēl limutti-šu ša it-ta-nam-da-ru-šu itti-šu i-salim ana sa-li-me uš-šab-šu = "Der Fürst, sein Feind, der wider ihn ergrimmt war, wird sich mit ihm versöhnen und in Frieden mit ihm wohnen" (ebenso K. 4048, Rv. 10, Boissier DA 150). Zu vgl. noch be-el lum-nim, Hunger, *Becherwahrnehmung* 21⁸ und Virolleaud, *Étud. sur la divin.* 25 ff. Z. 75: bēl šulmi-šu ana bēl lumni-šu utir-šu.⁹ Muss man für bēl limutti eine Bedeutung "Feind" annehmen, so lässt sich auch ohneweiters erwarten, dass bēl ṭābti "Freund" heissen muss, was auch die Stellen aus der Briefliteratur bestätigen. Vor allem ist Harper, IV, 358¹⁰ [Rm. 76] entscheidend. Z. 22 f: a-ki ša abu a-na mārē-šu e-pu-uš-u-ni-šarru be-li a-na ^{amēl} ardāni-šu ²⁵e-ta-pa-aš ultu bid nišē^{10a}

⁶ CT XX pl. 39, III, 3; *ibid.*, XXVIII, pl. 43, 4, 10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XX, pl. 37, 4.

⁸ In ähnlicher Weise haben wir Boissier, *Choix*, 101, Z. 10 (Aus K. 4003), einen bēl nukurti: bēl nukurti-ka isallim-ma išappar-ka = "Dein Feind wird sich mit dir versöhnen und dir eine Botschaft senden." (So ist statt Boissier's bēl nukurti dababa salim-ma, etc., "le seigneur ennemi t'enverra un message conciliant" zu lesen und zu übersetzen.)

⁹ Vgl. Hunger, *Tieromina* 112 u. Anm; 7. Andere Zusammensetzungen mit bēl sind noch bēl harrāni (Harper II, 214, 14), bēl dāme (Harper II, 211, 18, Rv. 4), bēl adē (Harper VI, 555, 7), bēl lišāni (Harper IV, 432, 18), bēl iq-qī-ia, šir-ri-ia, ri-di-ia, qībi-ia, egirri-ia (Maqlu I, 73-81, 83, 85, vgl. II, 41 ff.). In keiner dieser Zusammensetzungen passt bēlu Empfänger.

¹⁰ v. Gelderen, BA IV, 509; Delattre, PSBA 23, 355 f.

^{10a} Laut freundlicher Mitteilung von Professor Harper ist das e-m-e im Texte seiner Ausgabe Druckfehler für nišē, wie ich mich auch durch Kollation überzeugen konnte.

i-kaš-ši-u-ni man-nu šarru ša a-ki an-ni-i a-na ^{amēl} ardāni-šu diqtu ^{tu} e-pu-uš-u-ni ù a-a-ú bēl ṭābti ša a-ki an-ni-i a-na bēl ṭābti-šu da-ab-tu u-tir-ru-u-ni = "Wie ein Vater seinen Söhnen gegenüber zu handeln pflegt, so hat der König, mein Herr, an seinen Knechten gehandelt. Seit . . . hat welcher König dergestalt seinen Knechten Gutes erwiesen und welcher *Freund* dergestalt seinem *Freunde* Gutes vergolten." Hier lässt sich mit Empfänger von Wohltat nichts anfangen. Allein eine Uebertragung Freund giebt einen Sinn. Ferner kommt in Betracht Harper, II, 221, 11 f.¹¹ [K. 175]: an-nu-ri ^mAb-ni-i rab-ṣipti ša māt ^{a1}Ar-pad-dā (Rv.) ina pa-an bēli-iā illaka ^{ka} bēl da-ab-ṭi-ia ša a-dan-niš šu-u ù pa-lih ina pa-an bēli-iā = "Jetzt¹² ist Abnī, der Herdenverwalter des Landes der Stadt¹³ Arpadda zu meinem Herrn gegangen. Er ist mein bester Freund und ein Verehrer meines Herrn." Der Absender empfiehlt den Herdenverwalter dem Addressaten, indem er Abnī seinen guten Freund nennt, ihn als Empfänger zahlreicher Wohltaten zu bezeichnen, würde ja keine Empfehlung bedeuten. Auch Harper, IV, 326 [K. 1243], Rv. 10 f.,¹⁴ hat nichts an Beweiskraft verloren: ṣābē a-gan-nu-tu ul bēlē ṭābti šu-ú-nu bēlē da-ba-ba šu-ú-nu = "Diese Leute sind nicht Freunde, sondern Feinde sind sie." Die folgenden Briefstellen bringen zwar keinen neuen Beweis, erhalten aber erst durch die Uebersetzung von bēl ṭābti mit Freund einen guten Sinn. Harper, I, 2 [K. 183], Rv. 14 ff.: ša ina lib-bi ekalli ¹⁵i-za-zu-u-ni gab-bi-šu-nu lā i-ra'-mu-un-ni be-el ṭābti-ia ina lib-bi-šu-nu la-aš-šu.¹⁵ Harper, III, 281 [K. 13], 11 f.: ^mUm-man-ši-maš ^mUn-da-du ^{amēl}zi-il-li-ru ù ^{amēl}bēl-ṭābāte-šu ma-la i-ba-aš-šu, u. 23 f.: ūmu ^{mu}ša ^mUm-ma-hal-da-a-šu ana ^{a1}Ma-dak-tú i-ru-bu ^{amēl}bēl ṭābāte-šu gab-bi ki u-pah-hir.¹⁶ Harper, III, 283 [K. 597],

¹¹ McKnight, Diss. 11, vgl. mein "Beamtentum," *LSSt* V/3, 34³.

¹² Vgl. zu annuri(g) meine Bemerkungen, *Babyloniaca*, IV, 182 f.

¹³ Wie in den Boghaz-Koi Tafeln, vgl. Winckler, *MDOG*, 35, 13, sonst nur noch Amarna Kndtz, 44.

¹⁴ S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Assurb.* 3, 50: Meissner, *Suppl.* 105 (vgl. oben) und mein Beamtentum, *LSSt* V/3, 98.

¹⁵ Zuletzt übersetzt in meinen "Keilschriftbriefen," *AO* 12/2, 23 f. Nebenbei sei bemerkt, dass Jastrow's Auffassung von la aš-šu im Sinne von "Gott behüte," *Relig.*, II, 652², nicht möglich ist.

¹⁶ Johnston, *JAOS* 18/1, 140 f. (vgl. oben).

Rv. 14. ff.: a-na-ku ahē-e-a mārē-e-a u bēlē da-ab-te-e-a ni-il-li-kam-ma šēpē ša šarri bēli-ni niš-ši-iq.¹⁷ Harper, IX, 896 [K. 892^b], 4 f.: ú-ma-a qar-ši-ia ina pan šarri ak-lu ma-a šu-u itti ^m Nabu-še-zib bēl ṭābti (Freund, Anhänger) ša šar Bāb-ili. Vgl. noch Harper, VIII, 849 [K. 580], Rv. 3.

Es bleiben schliesslich noch die Stellen zu untersuchen, auf Grund welcher die Bedeutung Empfänger der Wohltat in Anspruch genommen wird. K. 2723, etc., 3 ff.: a-na pa-li-hi na-ḡir a-mat šarru-ti-šu ¹⁰u-tir-ru gi-mil-lu du-un-ḡi ^m ^{il} Nabū-šar-uṣur ^{amēl} rab-rēši ša ^m Asur-ban-apli šar ^{māt} Assur ^{ki} bēl ṭa-ab-ti bēl di-iq-ti ša ultu ri-du-ti a-di e-peš šarru-u-ti ¹⁵ina muh šarri be-li-šu am-ru-u-ma libbu gu-um-mu-ru, etc. Rv. 9 ff. . . . i-na šarrāni mārē-ia¹⁰ . . . i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu . . . šu-nu ṭa-ab-tu diq-tu e-pu-uš . . . tim (?) ša šarri bēli-šu-nu šu-nu. Rv. 24 ff. a-šar ḡa-al-lu la ta-dak-ki-šu ²⁵qātā-ka a-na limut-tim i-na lib-bi-šu la tu-ub-bal ni-ri-ib bēl ṭābti bēl diq-ti ša šarri beli-šu šu-tu-ni. Ich glaube nicht, dass Rv. 11, 25 irgendwie zwingen für bēl die ungewöhnliche Bedeutung Empfänger anzunehmen, da bēlu Herr sich ebensogut dem Zusammenhange einfügt. Bēl ṭābti, diq-ti ist der Besitzer des Guten, Schönen, der des Guten und Schönen waltet und es anderen erweist, und da dies dem Könige gegenüber hauptsächlich durch die Gesinnung zum Ausdruck kommt, der treue und rechtschaffene Mann.¹⁸ Obv. 14 ff. erklärt näher, worin die Handlungsweise eines solchen bēl ṭābti, bēl diq-ti besteht. Man wird daher im Anschluss an Johnston u. a. mit gutem Gewissen für bēl ṭābti die Bedeutung Freund annehmen dürfen.

¹⁷ Uebersetzt in meinem "Beamtentum," *LSSt* V/31, 75 f.

¹⁸ So hat übrigens auch Peiser, *KB* IV, 144, die Stelle aufgefasst.

BAR HEBRAEUS AND THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY

BY ISYA JOSEPH

In his *At-tārīḥ* (ed. 1663, p. 180), Bar Hebraeus says that when Yahya, the Coptic philosopher, petitioned Umru bn-Al-^cÂṣ, the Moslem conqueror of Egypt, to restore the Royal Library to the public, the latter referred the matter to Omar bn-Al Ḥaṭṭāb, the second Ḥalīf. The Ḥalīf ordered him to destroy the Library on the ground that if the books were in accord with the Ḳurān, the Ḳurān alone was sufficient, and if at variance with it, there was no need of them; therefore they were to be done away with.

In spite of the definiteness and clearness of this statement and its authoritative source, modern scholars have discredited it and regarded it a Christian scandal against the Mohammedans, on the assumption that no Moslem writer prior to Bar Hebraeus makes any allusion to the incident. Some have even thought it a late insertion in *At-tārīḥ*, since nowhere else in his writings does the Christian historian speak of the event.

That Bar Hebraeus' passage is authentic and based on Arabian authorities is a fact which has been abundantly verified by one who may be considered a very high authority on things Mohammedan. I refer to George Zaidan, the editor of the Cairene Journal *Hilāl*.

In his *History of Mohammedan Civilization* (Cairo, 1904, Vol. III, pp. 41 ff.), Mr. Zaidan acquaints us with his discovery of two independent authorities: one is ^cAbd-Al-Laṭīf of Bagdad (*op. cit.*, p. 41), who visited Egypt in the latter part of the sixth century A.H.¹ In speaking of the past events and remains in Egypt, he says that the Library which was in Alexandria was burned by Umru bn Al-^cÂṣ in compliance with the order of Omar. The other authority is Jamāl ad-Dīn Al-Ḳuṭṭī, wazīr of Aleppo, who was born in Ḳuṭṭ in upper Egypt (south of Asiut) in 565 A.H., and died in 646 A.H. (*op. cit.*, p. 42). In his *Dictionary of Learned Men*, a manuscript in the Ḥidewī Library, dating from 1197 A.H., Ibn Al-Ḳuṭṭī declares that the Library was burned by Umru bn Al-^cÂṣ.

¹ He was born in 557 A.H.; died in 629 A.H. Bar Hebraeus was born in 622 A.H.

Mr. Zaidan holds that Bar Hebraeus' passage is taken from Al-Ḳuṭṭī's *Dictionary of Learned Men*. And upon comparison of the two accounts it appears conclusively that Zaidan is right: In both it is stated that Yaḥyâ An-naḥawī witnessed the conquest of Egypt by Umru; that he met the conqueror; that the latter received him cordially, honored him for his learning, and sought his company; that Yaḥyâ petitioned Umru to restore the Royal Library to the public; that Umru referred the matter to the Ḥalīf; that the Ḥalīf ordered him to destroy the books on the ground that the Qurān alone was sufficient; and that Umru in turn ordered the books to be burned in the fire-places of the bath-houses of Alexandria. What is more convincing is the fact that the agreement between the two references is verbatim. Such a literal agreement between the two writers is found also in many other instances (*op. cit.*, p. 43), a fact which tends to show that the *Dictionary of Learned Men* of Ibn Al-Ḳuṭṭī was one of the sources from which Bar Hebraeus compiled his *At-tārīḥ*.

Zaidan goes on to trace the accounts of the two independent Moslem historians to still older sources (*op. cit.*, p. 44). He calls attention to the fact that *Al-Fihrist*, where, under the general subject "Philosophers," the founding of the Royal Library at Alexandria is referred to, mentions a certain Ishâk's *History of Greek and Roman Learning* as one of the sources from which the information about the origin of the Library in question was taken; and that this account in *Al-Fihrist* is similar to the one given in the *Dictionary of Learned Men*. It appears, Mr. Zaidan concludes, that Ibn Al-Ḳuṭṭī drew his knowledge about the Royal Library partly from such old sources as that which *Al-Fihrist* alludes to, and partly from other old Moslem documents, which, like many others, have been lost to us; and that 'Abd-Al-Laṭīf took his information from other old records which likewise have not come down to us.

There are reasons for believing that the testimony of these two independent writers is trustworthy. Both were men of thorough scholarship, as well as being accurate in their writings; and they wrote moreover about the events in Egypt after actually being there and making especial investigation.

Mr. Zaidan demonstrates the credibility of Bar Hebraeus' state-

ment of the incident in question not only by the fact that the statement is based on Moslem authorities, but also by the fact that Arabian historians record similar occurrences in other countries invaded by the early Mohammedans (*op. cit.*, p. 45). One such is that when the Moslems entered Persia, the victorious general wrote to the second Ḥalif what to do with the libraries he found there. The Ḥalif, we are told, gave him the very answer he sent to the conqueror of Egypt in regard to the Alexandrian Library—to destroy the books for the reason that the *Ḳurān* alone is sufficient. Again the Arabian chroniclers plainly say (*op. cit.*, p. 45) that wherever the early followers of Mohammed went, they burned all the books they came across.

Zaidan, moreover, goes on to show that destruction of libraries was a common practice among the non-Moslem conquerors also (*op. cit.*, p. 45). Hulako when he captured Bagdad (656 A.H.) cast all the books he found in the libraries of that city into the Tigris. The Crusaders also burned the great library at Tripoli, Syria. So did the Spaniards with the Arabian libraries when they drove the Moslems from Spain. The history of religions, he adds (*op. cit.*, p. 46), tells us that the stronger sect abolished the literature of the weaker one. The annals of Islam make it evident that the desire to destroy all non-Mohammedan literature was so strong among the early believers that it was their common creed that Islam destroyed everything prior to it. This belief is based on their sacred *ḥadīth* that the *Ḳurān* has abrogated all the books which had come before it; and that, therefore, it is incompatible with them. It is to be noticed that the order given by the Defender of the *Ḳurān* to his general in Egypt in regard to the Alexandrian Library is explicitly based on this traditional belief.

Finally Zaidan attempts to answer the question so often raised by modern critics: If the Moslems really destroyed the Alexandrian Library as Bar Hebraeus asserts, why is the event not alluded to by the historians of the conquest? The answer given is that the allusion might have been left out by the later historians who, in the light of their own time, deemed the act unworthy of the early caliphate; or the absence of any reference may be due to some other reasons at present unknown to us.

It may be added, however, that we are not sure that such historians put down all the doings of early Islam. Nor can we be positive that the incident was not found originally in some of them at least, since we know for certain that thousands of books on the history of Mohammedanism have been lost to us, and since we have two independent Moslem authorities prior to Bar Hebraeus, who bear explicit testimony to the fact, and, in addition, since we have indications that these authorities drew their information from yet older sources, lost to us.

Critical Notes

NOTES ON DEUT., CHAP. 33

Deut., chap. 33, remains one of the Pentateuchal chapters which invites the gleaner to follow in the wake of the reapers. Both in commentaries on Deuteronomy (Kleinert, Schroeder, Schulz, Dillmann, Marti, Driver, *et al.*), and in special monographs on the chapter itself (Volck, Graf, Van der Flier) its text and content have been examined and various solutions have been offered for the many difficulties which it presents. But it is no exaggeration to hold that both with reference to the chapter as a whole and with regard to the component parts satisfactory certainty even within reasonable bounds has as yet not been attained.

To enter *in mediâs res*, is the chapter the work of one author? That it is not by the author of Deuteronomy is conceded. And that on sufficient grounds (see the Commentaries). That it is not what the superscription declares it to be, a "blessing by Moses," is also admitted. But is it—the superscription omitted and the various captions to the several blessings (7, 8, etc.) also left aside—a literary unit? Most commentators treat it as though it were. Van der Flier (*Deuteronomium* 33, Leiden, 1895) marks a decided advance in viewpoint. According to him the prologue and the epilogue (vss. 2-5 and 26-29) belong together and originally had no connection with the blessings. These again are by one writer.

That there is good reason for separating vss. 2-5 and 26-29 from the other verses of the chapter admits of little doubt. Content, not to say the "atmosphere" of both the prologue and the epilogue, points to an altogether different preoccupation. The invocation of YHWH's appearance is in no relation to the pronouncements concerning the tribes. Judges, chap. 5, presents no true analogy. The song of Deborah requires the historical background emphasized in the appeal phrased by the stately reference to the theophany. Such stress on the original unity of the tribes implied in the going forth of YHWH from Seir, such recall of the effect of God's stepping forth to battle is in place in a song of triumph. The situation justifies the introductory note. But in the case of Deuteronomy, chap. 33, it is difficult to detect the necessity and reasonableness for such an invocation of historical incidents. Genesis, chap. 49, which alone may be compared with it, makes no allusion to them. The theme of the prologue, as Van der Flier shows, is Israel's pilgrimage through the wilderness conceived of as YHWH's own procession. Notwithstanding the points of divergence which Van der Flier admits exist between vss. 2-5 and vss. 26-29, he argues that both must be ascribed to one poet

who composed both with a view of furnishing the "blessings" a proper setting. According to him, the *Leitmotif* of the prologue lies in אֱלֹהִים חַבֵּב עַמּוֹתָם (vs. 3), the love of God for the tribes. And the epilogue is an elaboration of the same thought. It pictures a happy and victorious Israel. The reading of vs. 3 however is dubious (see below). And moreover, the epilogue's treatment of the theme indicates a different viewpoint. No mention is made of the warlike intentions of יְהוָה. That he led Israel during its wanderings, is the dominant burden. The epilogue strikes another note. It is the protecting God that, in order to assure to his people peace and prosperity, subdues the enemy. The argument deduced from Habakkuk, chap. 3, and Ps. 68 in favor of the unity of the prologue and epilogue, overlooks the fact that in the former the two verses, which alone might support the assumption that the poem is, like the introduction to, plus the concluding verses of, our chapter in Deuteronomy, a hymn of jubilation construed on the lines of a description of a theophany, followed by a song of victory, are the concluding ones. And these are clearly by a later hand. They are additions of the kind found in many psalms (Hab. 3:18), with phraseology borrowed from older poetry. ('al bomathay yadrikhēnī: the suffix in בְּמִיתִי is characteristic. In the older usage, it is the *Bamoth* of the enemy on which the victor is stepping. So in Deut. 33:29.) Ps. 68, on the other hand, is inconclusive on the point at issue. It must be considered to be later than our epilogue. It strikes one as an academic composition. Its interest is strongly liturgical (vss. 5, 30). The terminology betrays the Maccabean period, עָנִי (vs. 11), יִשְׁכֵּן לְנֶצַח (vs. 17), and especially vs. 5. The opening line betrays its origin (Ps. 68:2; cf. Num. 11:35). It seems then, and the difference in metrical arrangement confirms this, that difference of authorship for the epilogue and the prologue is the more likely.

When each was written cannot be made out. The epilogue presupposes a state of peace and happiness and security from invasion and oppression by aliens. Any of the more successful royal reigns might answer the description. The religious temper is not post-exilic. The national note predominates over and against the sacerdotal and liturgical. Van der Flier credits it to a period near the captivity, respectively to the earlier years of the return from the exile (Cyrus). The occurrence of the term Jeshurun, יִשְׁוּרֵן, which is also found in Deut. 32:15, considered late-exilic and which is of the phraseology of Isa., chap. 44, suggests the late date.

To determine the period of the prologue one must bear in mind that it is descriptive of theophanies. As far as they are not adaptations (cf. Ps. 68) from earlier compositions, the theophanic poems are marks of comparatively older periods. Judges, chap. 5, is certainly old. So in the main the Habakkuk psalm. Our prologue belongs also to an early epoch.

Have now the "blessings" a common author? This has not been called into doubt. And yet there are many reasons for rejecting the commonly

accepted view. We must begin with weighing the curious fact that the Joseph blessing is a repetition of the Joseph blessing in Gen., chap. 49. Why? This would indicate that the author appropriated it from the older collection or that the blessing of Moses had been without it and a later hand supplied the *lacuna* by the insertion of the double. But let us remember the way in which the blessings are pieced together with superscriptions that look as though they were meant to serve for explanatory guides, where the component parts should be placed. And, in fact, this is the theory which seems more plausible. These several blessings originally were independent.

That only two (or three with Judg., chap. 5) of these "blessings" have been preserved is accidental. Like other cognate peoples, the Hebrews must have indulged in taunt and tease lines. The "blessings" are of this well-known class of sayings, the purpose of which is to chide, to censure, and again to laud and cheer. The name of the tribe often sets the key of the allocution. Its suggestions are richly utilized.

That this name-element is the factor determining the appellation of this sort of pronouncements as ברכה *berakhah* is not impossible. ברכה and the words for blessing (and cursing) are related to בריך *berich* knee. The child was taken on the knee by the father, probably in the rite of adoption and recognition, and in that position was given its name, or its blessing, i.e., an (originally) charm word or line, in later days developing into "blessing" for a whole tribe.

Of such blessings there must have been an abundance. Gen., chap. 49, presents a consistent and coherent composition. Its period is clear. It belongs to the (older) epoch of the Judges (see the commentaries). But when the several parts of Deut., chap. 33, are examined the difficulty is immediately apparent. To which period does it belong? For while some blessings are colorless as to indications with reference to date, others point to situations conflicting with those suggested by others (see the Commentaries). This circumstance has not been sufficiently weighed. It seems to verify the theory of these several sayings having been current independently and then at a later day, possibly by the Elohist (Sellin, *Einleitung*, p. 21), put together. Where, as in the case of Joseph, no other was at hand, the older one was incorporated.

The much discussed "blessing" assigned now to Judah and in every aspect unintelligible as it stands ("to his people bring him back"), if credited to the period of the Judges to which other blessings point, may be a revision of an earlier Shimeon text. As early as the old Rabbinical Midrash there was suspicion that in the שבט *shevet* is a reference to שבט *shevet* (see also Kohler, *Der Segen Jacobs*). On the theory here advanced the difficulties in the way of numbering Shimeon among the clans extant at any time after the very earliest of the period of Judges are removed. The later compiler, finding Shimeon absorbed or emigrated (Dozy), changed the reading, or before it

came into his hands, the change had already been made. His superscription and glossatory notes show that he had a part in assigning the fragments to the tribes, according to his own judgment.

The text abounds in difficulties. A few emendations are here proposed:

The literature on אַשְׁדָּת (vs. 2) is vexatiously bulky. The phrase לְבֵית אַשְׁדָּת is a gloss explanatory of the preceding (geographical) locality. Ribhath Kadesh and אַשְׁדָּת looks itself like a name of place (see Joshua 10:40, "at the right of it was אַשְׁדָּת").

In אֵל הַבָּב עַמִּים (vs. 3) every word presents a difficulty. What is the force of the אֵל? הַבָּב is Aramaic. And עַמִּים connotes almost without exception nations not tribes. To me, Hab. 3:4 suggests that in our chapter something like the words occurring there, וְשֵׁם הַבְּיֹן קֹזָה, may have been the reading.

וְהָתְהַלְכּוּ וְהָם תָּכֹר is "they walked" (in thy footsteps), Yādh and Régēl indicating direction, "before and after." יֵשָׁא מִדְּבַרְתֶּיךָ is difficult. The reading שִׁבְעִי has been suggested. Perhaps these two words are misplaced and belong to the next which itself is a gloss.

The word בִּירְשָׁה (vs. 4) is impossible. It is a (corrupt) dittogram of the preceding בִּישָׁה. In its place something seems to have been now represented by the יֵשָׁא מִדְּבַרְתֶּיךָ. The Torah Moses commanded unto us (or bequeathed as his last will—the Rabbinical value of the verb צִוָּה, which would indicate that the marginal gloss is very late), listen to his words or keep *her* (the Torah's, then ending חֲדָה, "Oh congregation of Jacob!"). Finally יִרְתָּא (vs. 21), for which even Assyrian has had to be consulted, is the familiar יִרְתָּאֲכַפְּרָא, a variant of vs. 5, misplaced with the other two words from vs. 5 which itself is a gloss or a fragment gone astray.

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Book Notices

MISCELLANEOUS SUMERIAN TEXTS¹

This volume, as its title indicates, treats of certain tablets and fragments, which the author was unable to arrange under any particular classification.

In his Introduction (pp. 374-87), Dr. Radau describes at some length the difficulty of cataloguing purely Sumerian inscriptions, showing the frequent necessity of reading some entire inscriptions through, before an attempt may be made to catalogue the documents with regard to their contents. He states (p. 380) that about 15,000 tablets still remain to be catalogued, which, at the usual rate of progress, will require more than six years of labor. Without entering into the much-discussed question as to the existence of the so-called Nippur Temple Library, it seems clear that the University of Pennsylvania has a large and highly valuable collection of ancient Sumerian texts, whose ultimate publication will be eagerly awaited by Sumeriologists.

In this review, I shall touch merely on some of the purely linguistic points as they are brought forward by Radau, avoiding entirely the question as to the provenance of the material of which he has made use.

In his "Hymn to the Goddess of Isin," p. 382, note 1, Radau's translation of line 9: GA-ŠA-AN TIN-DIB(BAD)-BA 'mistress, quickener of the dead' is probably correct. TIN-DIB-BA literally means 'life of death.' His value DIB for BAD, which was suggested by myself, *MSL*, 49, *s.v.* BAD = DIB, DIG, confirms II, 59, 31d: DIMMER GAŠAN-TI-DIB-BA 'lord, life of the dead.' With respect to the character of Ba'u, the goddess of Isin, see Prince, *AJSL*, XXIV, pp. 64 ff., and Prince and Vanderburgh, *AJSL*, XXVI, pp. 138 ff.

Extremely interesting are the undoubted Semitisms in this hymn, cited by Radau:

11. GAR(ŠA)-A-NI a-ka-lu-um-ma
12. GAŠ (BI)-A-NI ši-ka-ru-um-ma
13. KAŠBIR-A-NI al(?) -appu (KA)-um-ma
14. BALAG-A-NI gi-er (A-ŠI)-ra-an-um-ma

This passage reads almost like a Sumero-Semitic vocabulary and shows that the hymn must date from a period when Semitic Babylonian was beginning to be used as a ritual language. Lines 11-12 have true Semitic

¹MISCELLANEOUS SUMERIAN TEXTS FROM THE TEMPLE LIBRARY AT NIPPUR. By Hugo Radau, Philadelphia, Pa. (reprint from the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume, Leipzig, 1909).

words in the second member; but whether *al(?) - appu(KA) - um-ma* (13) is correct is difficult to decide. This combination may = *KA-KA-UM-MA* = *gu-gu-um-ma* = *quqqumma* (*guqqù* = *gugane*, ZA, V, 38; 28: *suddura gug-ga-ni-e tarinni* 'the *gugane* [= libations] of the feast were properly arranged'). In line 14: *gi-er (A-ŠI) - ra-an-um-ma* seems to be a Semitized form from *GER-RA* which may be cognate with the god-name *DIMMER GIR-RA* = *DIMMER Dibbara* (Br. 958: *GIR-RA* = *MIR-RA* 'a destroying deity'). *GER-RA* is certainly a synonym here of *BALAG* 'cry of woe,' Br. 7042.

On p. 386, I render the following lines from CT, XV, 25, 1 ff., somewhat differently from Radau's version:

1. *MA-AN-GA MÁ SAG-GA*

2. *GA-ŠA-AN-GA MÁ EGIR-RA BA-E-ŠUB (RU)-A-BA*

3. *NI(IM)-TE AMAR (ZUR)-A-BI BA-E-TE-A-BA*

1. When, though queen, on the bow of the ship (I tread)

2. When, though lady, on the stern of the ship I tread (*ŠUB* = *RU* = *nadû*; lit. 'I am set'; i.e., 'against my will')

3. When that brood of their own volition approach me,

[4. At that time, that foe with shoes on his feet entered my shrine, to desecrate it, etc.]

The third character in line 3 is not *DU* (Radau) but *ZUR* = *AMAR-bûru* 'brood,' containing a contemptuous allusion to the Elamites who stole the goddess's image from her shrine. I regard the entire hymn, CT, XV, 24-25, which I am about to publish in *JAOS*, 1911, as a lament for this rape of *Nanâ* by the Elamites, composed shortly after that event by her mourning priests of Isin.

On p. 397, in discussing the form *NU-KIN-GI(G)*, Radau correctly regards *NU* here as a demonstrative element = 'she who (*NU*) directs (*KIN*) her attention to sickness' (*GIG*); i.e., a healing deity. I pointed out this force of *NU* in *MSL*, 264, s.v. *NU*, in *NU-BANDA*; *NU-GIŠ-ŠAR*, etc., and I am glad to see this view adopted by Dr. Radau, who, as will appear later in this review, is somewhat chary in acknowledgment. This demonstrative *NU* is connected etymologically with the demonstrative *NE*, *E-NE* 'that one, he, she,' and must have been intoned differently from *NU* = 'not.'

On p. 398, I must differ with Radau's rendering of CT, XV, 8, 2, which I translate as follows:

KI-EL- KI-NE-EN E AMA MUX GA(MAL) SAG E UR-RA-BI ME-EN 'over that maiden-place, the house of the mother, thou art established; head of the house and the beams thereof.'

Radau reads and translates thus: *KI-ſl KI-Gſ-EN E AMA-MUH DUL* (sic!) *E UR-RA-BI ME-EN*—in the holy place of the maidens called 'house of the begetting (sic!) mother' 'the veiled one'—most of which he has apparently taken from Dr. Langdon's *Babylonian Psalms*, p. 12, line 29, to whom, however, he gives no credit. The text of CT, XV, 8, 2, shows no possibility of such

a rendering as Radau's, unless he has made a recent recension of the original, which he does not claim to have done. Similarly Radau transliterates CT, XV, 12-18, practically identically with Langdon, *op. cit.*, 12, rev. 2-8, without allusion to the latter's work. These last lines I render as follows, differing slightly from Dr. Vanderburgh, *JAOS*, XXX, pp. 316-17, *q.v.*

12. AMA-XE(GAN) ME-EN UD-DA GAB-DA-PEŠ(KIR) MU-LU-NA MU-PAD-DE

Mother of plenty she is; on that day may she be glorified; to her servant she speaks (i.e., with power).

The sign PEŠ-KIR = rapāšu, Fossey 3536 and = šuqûru, Fossey 3539; that the sign can indicate multiplication or increase is also seen from the equation = šalāšu 'triple,' Br. 6937; šušlušu, Fossey 3539a (148a).

13. E-NE-ĀM DIMMER GU-LA-GE(KIT) GA-BA-DA-PEŠ(KIR) MU-LU-NA MU-PAD-DE

May the word of Gula be glorified; to her people it shall speak (with power).

14. E-NE-ĀM DIMMER MU-UL-LIL-LÁ-(GE) GA-BA-DA-PEŠ(KIR) MU-LU-NA MU-PAD-DE

May the word of Bel be glorified; to his people it shall speak.

15. UD-DA E(BIT)-AZAG-GA GA-BA-DA-PEŠ(KIR) MU-LU-NA MU-PAD-DE

On that day let the Shining House be glorified; to its people it shall speak.

16. E(BIT)-AZAG E-UŠUN(?) NA GA-BA-DA-PEŠ(KIR) MU-LU-NA MU-PAD-DE

May the Shining House, the Pure (?) House, be glorified; to its people it shall speak.

17. MULU XUL KI-NE KIN-KIN-E-NE NAM-MU-PAD-DE E-NE

When sinners that place shall seek (KIN), verily (NAM) they shall speak (utter their plaint).

Note that NAM is not necessarily negative.

18. E(BIT) RI-A-NI KIN-KIN-E-NE NAM-MU-PAD-DE E-NE

When they shall seek that house of procreation, they shall speak (utter their plaint).

If the student will compare the above rendering with Radau's version (p. 298) and the text of CT, XV, 8, the reasons for my variation will be apparent.

On p. 414, Radau's interpretation of the name Ba'u 'giver of the newly quickened green things of nature' is identical with my own, *AJSL*, XXIV, p. 73, 'giver (BA) of vegetation' (v), published in 1907.

On p. 419, note 4, on line 4, IGI-XE-NI-IB-IL-IA-DU(G), IL-IA for IL-LA, is an excellent example of the palatalized L, as Radau points out.

On p. 440, referring to p. 436, n. 3, 1-7, Radau indicates what he calls a "wrong translation" of MEN by the Semitic parallel a n ā k u = the nominative 'I,' whereas in line 7, the Semitic form i d u k a n n i 'will he slay me' points to an accusative 'me,' throughout the passage. This is not a wrong

translation, but a peculiarity of the Babylonian dialect of the Assyro-Babylonian Semitic; cf. NR, 9: mandattum anáku inaššûnu 'they bring me tribute'; NR, 21: anáku iddannaššinfîti 'he handed them (the lands) over to me.' In these cases, there is no emphasis laid on the "me" and the usage may be "bad"; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, § 135, but in the passage cited by Radau, the emphasis is clearly on the "me," which may be represented by anáku rather than by iâši; cf. Beh. Auramazda šarrûtu anáku iddannu 'A. has given the kingdom to me.' That the Radau passage is older than those just cited merely indicates that this use of anáku as an emphatic prolepsis of "me" is not as late as Delitzsch thought. It is not necessary, therefore, for Radau to "disagree with the Semitic translator."

On p. 441, n. 5, Radau states that Ištar was the mistress of Kirgilu, but cf. CT, XV, 23, translated by me, *JAOS*, XXX, 325-35, where KIRGI-LU is plainly a goddess; note obv. 4: NIN-ZI-MU 'my faithful lady' (NIN) or 'my lady of life' or 'lady of my life'; also line 5: AMA UBUR ZI-DA 'mother of unfailing breast.' That this address is to Kirgilu and not to a god is clear from obv. 2.

Dr. Radau's work is, on the whole, a very useful one for Sumeriological science. He has reproduced fifteen plates and translated six important texts. I differ with him somewhat as to his renderings here and there, and entirely with regard to his Christ-Ninib theory (pp. 404-5; and "Bel the Christ of Ancient Times," *BE*, XVII), a position which cannot be discussed in the present treatise. The typography of the work is good, there being, however, a few errors, as on pp. 379, 397, 411, etc. He has also made too extensive a use of exclamation points and question marks which serve merely to confuse the reader. I have commented, owing to lack of space and time, on only a few philological points, realizing, however, that the work will bear much closer inspection.

JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK CITY

PUBLICATION OF THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS IN THE MUSEUM OF LEYDEN¹

(Third Instalment)

This continuation of the exhaustive publication of the Egyptian monuments in the Leyden collection maintains the high standard already set by the previous sections which have been noticed in this journal (Vol. XXIII,

¹ BESCHREIBUNG DER AEGYPTISCHEN SAMMLUNG DES NIEDERLÄNDISCHEN REICHSMUSEUMS DER ALTERTÜMER IN LEIDEN. Die Denkmäler der Zeit zwischen dem Alten und Mittleren Reich und des Mittleren Reiches. Zweite Abteilung: Grabgegenstände, Statuen, Gefässe und verschiedenartige kleinere Gegenstände; mit einem Supplement zu den Monumenten des Alten Reiches. von Dr. P. A. A. Boeser. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910.

pp. 264 ff., and Vol. XXVI, p. 133). The section contains 143 drawings in the text and 22 beautiful heliotype plates of the same excellence as those issued in the earlier sections. They include besides the usual mortuary furniture of the Middle Kingdom commonly found in our Egyptian museums a number of important royal monuments, especially a granite base belonging to one of the Sebekhoteps of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The question arises whether this so-called base may not be an altar, for as far as discernible the top surface shows no indication of any fastenings for the erection of another monument upon it. It is unfortunate that objects from such early collections (this monument came from the D'Anastasy collection) have come down to us without any data regarding their origin; but for this the careful editor is not responsible. From a king of the same general period, namely "Sebak-em-saf," we have an interesting chest which contained the canopic jars deposited in the king's tomb. The jars themselves have vanished. The tomb of the king must have been robbed and its furniture scattered upon the antiquity market by the plundering natives early in the last century before D'Anastasy made his collection. It is another evidence of the frightful devastation to which the Theban cemetery was subjected seventy-five years ago. Perhaps the most important of these royal monuments of the Middle Kingdom is the diadem of King Intef (Plate 18). The body of this king was dragged from its tomb by the Arabs of Thebes in 1827. They destroyed the body, robbing it of its regal jewelry, among which was found this diadem. They afterward inserted the mummy of a priest in the coffin, which was sold to Salt, from whom it passed to the British Museum; but the diadem was sold separately by the Arabs and came into D'Anastasy's possession, reaching the Leyden Museum in 1828.

The text and accompanying data furnished by the editor display the same care and accuracy which have characterized his work in the preceding sections of the publication. Dr. Boeser is to be congratulated on the progress which his enterprise is making.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

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